





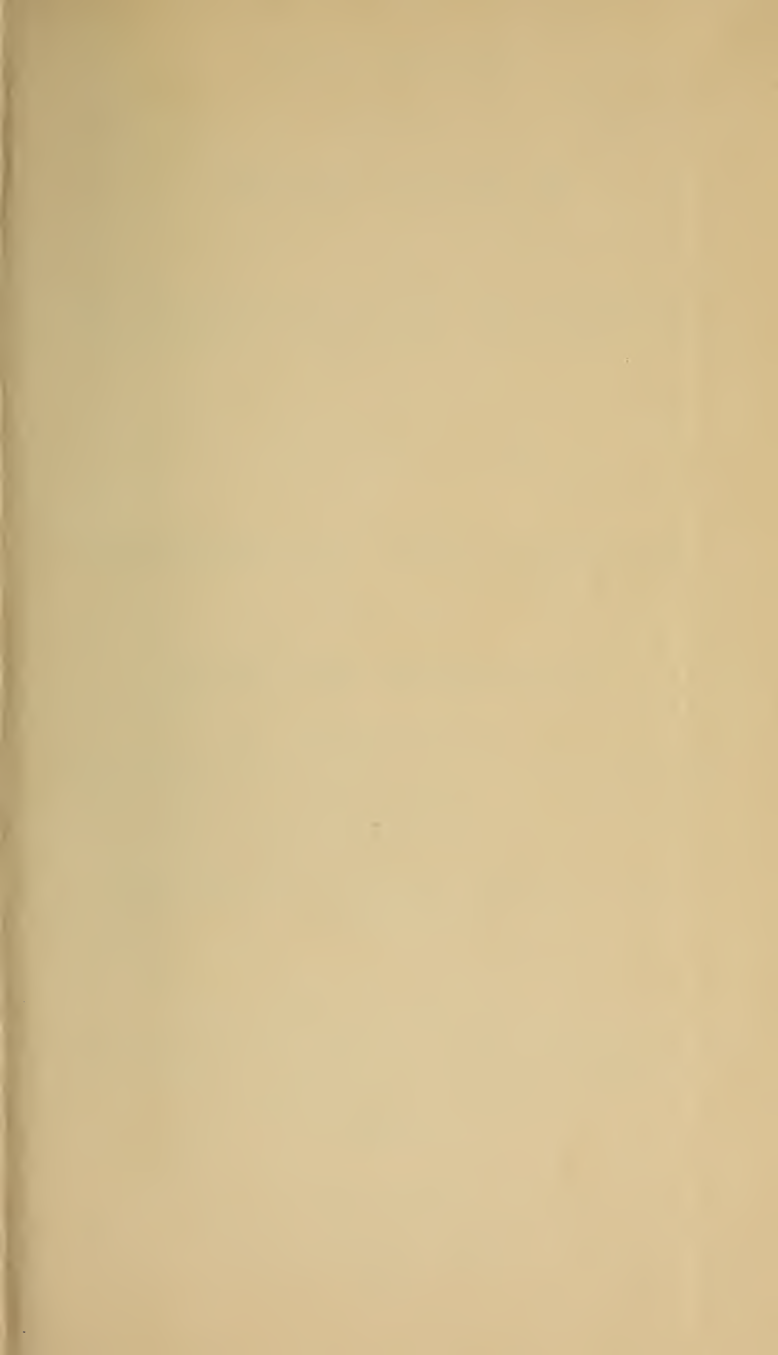
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**FIVE BOOKS**  
**OF THE**  
**HISTORY**  
**OF**  
**C. CORNELIUS TACITUS,**  
**WITH**  
**HIS TREATISE**  
**ON THE**  
**MANNERS OF THE GERMANS,**  
**AND HIS**  
**LIFE OF AGRICOLA.**

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FROM THE LAST GERMAN EDITION OF THE WORKS  
OF TACITUS.

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WITH ENGLISH NOTES, ORIGINAL AND  
COMPILED ;

BY  
E. B. WILLISTON,  
PROFESSOR OF THE GREEK AND LATIN LANGUAGES AND  
LITERATURE IN THE AMERICAN LITERARY, SCIENTIFIC  
AND MILITARY ACADEMY.



*HARTFORD:*  
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BE IT REMEMBERED, That on the first day of June, in the fiftieth year of the Independence of the United States of America, O. D. COOKE & Co. of the said District, have deposited in this Office, the title of a Book, the right whereof they claim as Proprietors, in the words following—to wit :

*"Five Books of the History of C. Cornelius Tacitus, with his Treatise on the Manners of the Germans, and his Life of Agricola. From the last German Edition of the Works of Tacitus. With English Notes, Original and Compiled; By E. B. Williston, Professor of the Greek and Latin Languages and Literature in the American Literary, Scientific and Military Academy."*

In conformity to the Act of Congress of the United States, entitled, "An Act for the encouragement of learning, by securing the copies of Maps, Charts, and Books, to the authors and proprietors of such copies, during the times therein mentioned."—And also to the Act, entitled, "An Act supplementary to an Act, entitled 'An Act for the encouragement of learning, by securing the copies of Maps, Charts, and Books, to the authors and proprietors of such copies during the times therein mentioned,' and extending the benefits thereof to the arts of designing, engraving, and etching historical and other prints."

CHA'S A. INGERSOLL,

*Clerk of the District of Connecticut.*

A true copy of Record, examined and sealed by me,

CHA'S-A. INGERSOLL,

*Clerk of the District of Connecticut.*

Gift

W. L. Shoemaker

I S '06

TO THE  
**HON. EDWARD EVERETT,**  
DISTINGUISHED FOR HIS  
GENIUS, LEARNING, AND ELOQUENCE,  
THIS WORK  
IS  
RESPECTFULLY INSCRIBED.

### REMARKS.

SOME examples of ancient Orthography will be found in the text; such as the use of *ss* for *s*, as *caussa* for *causa*; *ll* for *l*, as *paullo* for *paulo*; *e* for *œ*, as *ceteri* for *cæteri*; *m* for *n*, as *tamquam* for *tanquam*, *umquam* for *unquam*.

Prepositions in composition, usually remain unchanged, as *conloco* instead of *colloco*, *adfero* instead of *affero*, &c.

This edition is believed to be entirely free from errors in punctuation, which are very numerous in former American editions.

The notes are partly original, partly translated from those of Barbou, but principally selected from those of Murphy. Should they prove an assistance to the student in acquiring a knowledge of this difficult, but highly valuable author, the design of the compiler will be entirely answered.



## LIFE OF TACITUS.

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CAIUS CORNELIUS TACITUS was born in the year of Rome 809 or 810. His father was a Roman knight who had been appointed governor of Belgic Gaul. The genius and virtue of Tacitus recommended him to the emperor Vespasian, and as he wished to protect and patronize merit he advanced him while young to places of trust and honour. The succeeding emperors were not less partial to Tacitus, and Domitian seemed to forget his cruelties when talents and virtue claimed his patronage. Tacitus was honoured with the consulship, and he gave proofs of his eloquence at the bar, by supporting the cause of the injured Africans against the proconsul Marius Priscus, and in procuring his condemnation for his avarice and extortion. The friendly intercourse of Pliny and Tacitus has often been admired, and many have observed, that the familiarity of these two great men arose from similar principles, and a perfect conformity of manners and opinions.

Yet Tacitus was as much the friend of a republican government, as Pliny was an admirer of the imperial power, and of the short-lived virtues of his patron Trajan. Pliny gained the hearts of his adherents by affability, and all the elegant graces which became the courtier and the favourite, while Tacitus conciliated the esteem of the world by his virtuous conduct which prudence and a love of honour ever guided. The time of Tacitus was not employed in trivial pursuits; the orator might have now been forgotten if the historian had not flourished. Tacitus wrote a treatise

tise on the manners of the Germans, a composition admired for the fidelity and exactness with which it is executed. His life of Agricola, whose daughter he had married, is celebrated for its purity, elegance, and the many excellent instructions and important truths which it relates.

His history of the Roman emperors is imperfect. It embraced a period of twenty-eight years, that is, from the 69th to the 96th year of the Christian era. Of this nothing remains but the history of the 69th year and part of the 70th. Part of the fifth book, containing three years of Tiberius; the entire four years of Caligula, the six first of Claudius, and the two last of Nero, have perished in the wreck of literature. His annals were the most extensive and complete of his works. Tacitus had reserved for his old age the reigns of Nerva and Trajan, and he also proposed to give to the world an account of the interesting administration of Augustus; but these important subjects never employed the pen of the historian, and, as some of the ancients observe, all the writings of Tacitus were contained in thirty books, of which we have now left only sixteen of his annals and five of his history. The style of Tacitus has always been admired for peculiar beauties; the thoughts are great, there is sublimity, force, weight and energy; every thing is treated with precision and dignity; yet many have called him obscure because he was fond of expressing his ideas in a few words. His own laconic manner, and, it may be added, the omissions of the copyists, have occasioned some difficulties; but he, who has made himself familiar with the peculiarities of the style, will not be much embarrassed. By due attention to the context, the true, or at least the probable meaning may always be found. His Latin is remarkable for its purity; and though a writer in the decline of the Roman empire, he has not used barbarous expressions, but with him every thing is sanctioned by the authority of the writers of the Augustan age.

A profound judge of men, and a severe censor of manners, he has delineated with the pencil of a master, the characters and the very inward frame of the vile and profligate; while the good and upright receive, in his immortal page, the recompense due to their virtue.

Affairs of importance are treated with dignity; the secret causes of events and revolutions are investigated from their

primary sources, and the historian every where shows himself a friend of public liberty, a lover of truth, anxious for the general welfare of mankind, and an inveterate enemy to oppression. The history of the reign of Tiberius is his master-piece, the deep policy, the dissimulation and various intrigues of this celebrated prince, are painted with all the fidelity of the historian. Tacitus boasted, that he never would flatter the follies, or maliciously or partially represent the extravagance of the several characters he delineated. He was distinguished for candour and impartiality. Some ecclesiastical writers have exclaimed against Tacitus on account of the partial manner in which he speaks of the Jews and Christians ; but it should be remembered, that he spoke the language of the Romans, and that the peculiarities of the Christians could not but draw upon them the odium and ridicule of the Pagans, and the imputation of superstition. The time of his death is not mentioned by any ancient author ; no stone, no inscription has been found to tell where the remains of our author were deposited ; but he whose works are a lasting memorial, *monumentum ære perennius*, did not stand in need of perishable materials.

# LETTERS

TO THE

REVEREND

FATHER

My dear Father, I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 10th inst. and in reply to inform you that the same has been forwarded to the proper authorities for their consideration. I am, Sir, very respectfully,  
Your obedient servant,  
J. M. Smith



THE  
HISTORY  
OF  
TACITUS.  
BOOK I.

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CONTENTS.

BOOK I.

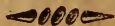
i. Preface to the History. II. Summary view of the whole work. State of the city, the armies, and the provinces. VI. Galba's court, and the reigning vices. VIII. Condition of Spain, Gaul, Upper and Lower Germany, Syria, Egypt and Africa. The war against the Jews conducted by Vespasian. XII. Revolt of the legions in Upper Germany. Galba consults about the choice of a successor. Different opinions among his ministers, Vinus, Laco, and Icelus, one of his freedmen. Otho has hopes of the nomination. XIV. Choice of Piso for the succession. XV. Galba's speech upon the occasion. He declares his adoption of Piso in the camp and in the senate. Ill-timed severity of Galba. An embassy to the German legions. XXI. Otho plans a revolution. He corrupts the prætorian guards. Two common soldiers undertake to dispose of the sovereignty. Otho proclaimed emperor. XXIX. Galba, in the mean time, employed in a sacrifice in the Capitol. Piso's speech to the soldiers. XXXVII. Otho harangues the prætorians in the camp. XL. They rush into the city. Galba murdered. XLII. Death of Titus Vinus. The constancy of a centurion. Piso put to death. Otho received with adulation by the senate and people. XLVI. All things directed by the soldiers. Numbers executed. Marius Celsus saved by the artifice of Otho. XLVIII. Characters of Piso and Titus

Vinius. XLIX. Character of Galba. L. Vitellius, before Galba's death, aims at the sovereignty. LI. Origin of the revolt among the German legions. Vitellius saluted emperor. He sends two armies to invade Italy, one under Fabius Valens, and the other under Cæcina. Vitellius follows with a third army. His excessive luxury and stupidity. The cruelty and rapine of Valens and Cæcina. LXIII. The Gauls, partly through fear, and partly from inclination, swear fidelity to Vitellius. LXIV. Valens on his march hears of the death of Galba. LXVII. Cæcina attacks the Helvetians, and lays waste the country. He crosses the Alps into Italy. LXXI. Otho's conduct at Rome: he begins to act with vigour. LXXII. Death of Tigellinus, and his character. LXXIV. Letters between Otho and Vitellius: they endeavour to overreach each other. Emissaries employed by both. The people of Sarmatia invade the province of Mœsia, and are put to rout with great slaughter. LXXX. An insurrection of the soldiers at Rome. LXXXIII. Otho's speech to the soldiers. LXXXVI. Portents and prodigies spread a general alarm at Rome. LXXXVII. Otho consults about the operations of the war: he appoints his generals, and sends his fleet to invade the Narbon Gaul. LXXXIX. Melancholy condition of the people at Rome. Otho proceeds on his expedition against the Vitellian forces, and leaves his brother, Salvius Titianus, chief governor at Rome.

These transactions passed in a few months.

Year of Rome, 822. Of Christ, 69.

Consuls; Servius Galba, 2d time, Titus Vinius Rufinus.



INITIUM mihi operis Ser. Galba iterum, T. Vinius Consules erunt. Nam, post conditam urbem, septingentos et viginti prioris ævi annos (a) multi auctores retulerunt, dum res populi Rom. (b) memorabantur pari eloquentia ac libertate. Postquam bellatum apud Actium, atque omnem potestatem ad unum conferri pacis interfuit, magna illa ingenia cessere: simul veritas pluribus modis infracta; primum inscitia Reipublicæ ut alienæ, mox libidine adsentandi, aut rursus odio adversus dominantes: ita neutris cura

*a* Tacitus computes 820 years from the foundation of Rome to the death of Nero, when the following history begins. The battle of Actium was in the year of Rome 723; from that time to the reign of Augustus, and the succeeding emperors, forms a period of 93 years to the death of Nero, who killed himself A. U. C. 821.

*b* The history of Rome to the end of the Republic, is emphatically called by Tacitus, the history of the Roman people. From the battle of Actium, it is properly the history of the Emperors.



posteritatis, inter infensos vel obnoxios. (c) Sed ambitionem scriptoris facile adverseris; obtrectatio et livor pronis auribus accipiuntur, quippe adulationi fœdum crimen servitutis, malignitati falsa species libertatis inest. Mihi Galba, Otho, Vitellius, nec beneficio, nec injuria cogniti. Dignitatem nostram a Vespasiano inchoatam, a Tito auctam, a Domitiano longius provectam, non abnuerim: sed inconruptam fidem professis, nec amore quisquam et sine odio dicendus est. Quod si vita suppeditet, Principatum D. Nervæ (d) et Imperium Trajani, uberiores securioremque materiam, senectuti seposui: rara temporum felicitate, ubi sentire, quæ velis, et, quæ sentias, dicere licet.

II. Opus adgredior opimum casibus, atrox proeliis, discors seditionibus, ipsa etiam pace sævum. Quatuor Principes ferro interempti. (e) Trina bella civilia, plura externa ac plerumque permixta. (f) Prosperae in Oriente, adversæ in Occidente res. Turbatum Illyricum: Galliæ nutantes: perdomita Britannia (g) et statim missa: coortæ in nos Sarmatarum ac Suevorum gentes: nobilitatus cladibus mutuis Dacus. Mota etiam prope Parthorum arma, falsi Neronis ludibrio. (h) Jam vero Italia novis cladibus, vel post longam sæculorum seriem repetitis, afflicta.

c *Inter infensos vel obnoxios.* Since every author would either hate those in authority, or be obnoxious to them.

d It is evident, from this passage, that Tacitus published his history in the reign of Trajan, since Nerva is called the Deified Nerva, and the apotheosis of the Emperors was always after their death.

e The history included the whole time from the first of Galba to the assassination of Domitian; and, for that reason, some of the commentators are of opinion that the four princes put to the sword are Galba, Otho, Vitellius and Domitian. Others, observing that the whole of Domitian's reign is lost, adapt their notions to the present state of our author's work, and reckon Piso, who was adopted by Galba, one of the four murdered princes.

f The three civil wars were as follows:

1. Otho and Vitellius: 2. Vitellius and Vespasian: 3. Lucius Antonius and Domitian, A. U. C. 845. The foreign wars, that distracted the empire, during the rage of civil commotions, were, one in Judæa, and the other with Civilis, the Batavian chief.

g Britain was finally subdued in the reign of Domitian. See the life of Agricola. It was afterwards neglected and almost lost.

h For more of the pretended Nero, see Hist. ii. s. 8. The Parthians were on the point of declaring war in favour of another impostor, who took the name of Nero, in the reign of Titus, A. U. C. 834, and afterwards in the reign of Domitian, A. U. C. 841.

Haustæ aut obrutæ urbes, (*i*) fecundissima Campaniæ ora. Urbs incendiis vastata, consumptis antiquissimis delubris, ipso Capitolio (*j*) civium manibus incenso : pollutæ cærimoniæ : magna adulteria : plenum exsiliis mare : infecti cædibus scopuli. (*k*) Atrocius in urbe sævitum. Nobilitas, opes, omisso gestique honores pro crimine, et ob virtutes certissimum exitium. Nec minus præmia delatorum invisa, quam scelera ; cum alii Sacerdotia et Consulatus, ut spolia, adepti, Procurationes (*l*) alii et interiorem potentiam, agerent verterent cuncta odio et terrore. Corrupti in dominos servi, in patronos liberti ; et, quibus deerat inimicus, per amicos oppressi. Non tamen adeo virtutum sterile sæculum, ut non et bona exempla prodiderit.

III. Comitataæ profugos liberos matres : secutæ maritos in exsilia conjuges : propinqui audentes : constantes generi : contumax, etiam adversus tormenta, servorum fides : supremæ clarorum virorum necessitates ; ipsa necessitas fortiter tolerata ; et laudatis antiquorum mortibus pares exitus. Præter multiplices rerum humanarum casus, cælo terraque prodigia et fulminum monitus et futurorum præsagia, læta, tristia, ambigua, manifesta. Nec enim unquam atrocioribus Populi Rom. cladibus, magisve justis indiciis adprobatum est, non esse curæ Deis securitatem nostram, esse ultionem. (*m*)

IV. Cæterum, antequam destinata componam, repetendum videtur, qualis status urbis, quæ mens exercituum, quis habitus provinciarum, quid in toto terrarum orbe va-

*i* The cities of Herculaneum and Pompeii were destroyed by an eruption of Mount Vesuvius, in the beginning of the reign of Titus, A. U. C. 841.

*j* See the conflagration of the Capitol, Hist. iii. s. 67 and 71.

*k* *Mare—scopuli*. Islands, where they were sent by the orders of Domitian, and murdered.

*l* Collectors of the imperial revenue were instituted by the Emperors, in order to entrench on the power of the proconsuls, who were the proper officers, in all the provinces that remained under the authority of the senate. Informers were raised to the office of imperial procurators, and obtained weight and influence in the cabinet. *Adepti procurationes et interiorem potentiam*.

*m* Some of the commentators have objected to the sentiment expressed by Tacitus in this place. Brotier calls it, *atrox sententia*. But what is the fair construction? It is this. The crimes of the Roman people were such, that they could no longer expect the protection of the gods. They had drawn down the vengeance of Heaven.

lidum, quid ægrum fuerit ; ut non modo casus eventusque rerum, qui plerumque fortuiti sunt, sed ratio etiam causæque noscantur. Finis Neronis ut lætus, primo gaudentium inpetu, fuerat, ita varios motus animorum, non modo in urbe, apud Patres, aut populum, aut urbanum militem, sed omnes legiones Ducesque conciverat : evulgato Imperii arcano, (*n*) posse Principem alibi, quam Romæ fieri. Sed Patres læti, usurpata statim libertate, licentius, ut erga Principem novum et absentem ; (*o*) primores Equitum proximi gaudio Patrum ; pars populi integra, et magnis domibus annexa, (*p*) clientes libertique damnatorum et exsulum, in spem erecti : plebs sordida et circo ac theatri sœta, simul deterrimi servorum, aut qui, adesis bonis, per dedecus Neronis alebantur, mæsti et rumorum avidi.

V. Miles urbanus, (*q*) longo Cæsarum sacramento inbutus, et ad destituendum Neronem arte magis et impulsu, quam suo ingenio, traductus, postquam neque dari donativum, sub nomine Galbæ promissum, neque magnis meritis ac præmiis eundem in pace, quem in bello, locum, præventamque gratiam intelligit apud Principem, a legionibus factum ; pronus ad novas res, scelere insuper Nymphidii Sabini Præfecti, Imperium sibi molientis, agitur. Et Nymphidius (*r*) quidem in ipso conatu oppressus : sed, quamvis capite defectionis ablato, manebat plerisque militum conscientia ; nec deerant sermones, ‘senium atque avaritiam Galbæ’ increpantium. Laudata olim et militari fama celebrata severitas ejus (*s*) angebat adspernantes veterem disciplinam, atque ita XIV annis a Nerone adsuefactos, ut haud minus vitia Principum amarent, quam olim virtutes verebantur. Accessit Galbæ vox, pro Republica honesta, ipsi anceps, ‘legi a se militem, non emi.’

VI. Nec enim ad hanc formam cetera erant. Invalidum senem T. Vinus et Cornelius Laco, alter deterrimus mor-

*n* *Evulgato, etc.* A new political secret having been divulged, that an Emperor might be made elsewhere than at Rome.

*o* Galba, who had not arrived from Spain.

*p* By the attachment of friendship or relationship.

*q* The prætorian guards had shown themselves, at all times, firmly attached to the Cæsarean family.

*r* For an account of Nymphidius, and his rash ambition, see the Appendix to the sixteenth book of the Annals, Mur. Tac.

*s* The rigour with which Galba supported and enforced military discipline is stated by Suetonius, in Galba, s. vi.



talium, alter ignavissimus, odio flagitiorum oneratum, contemptu inertiae destruebant. Tardum Galbæ iter et cruentum, interfectis Cingonio Varrone, Consule designato, et Petronio Turpiliano, Consulari: ille, ut Nymphidii socius, hic, ut dux Neronis, inauditi atque indefensi, tamquam innocentes perierant. Introitus in urbem, trucidatis tot millibus inermium militum, (*t*) infaustus omine, atque ipsis etiam, qui occiderant formidolosus. Inducta legione Hispana, remanente ea, quam e classe Nero conscripserat, plena urbs exercitu insolito: multi ad hoc numeri e Germania ac Britannia (*u*) et Illyrico, quos idem Nero, electos præmissosque ad claustra Caspiarum, (*v*) et bellum, quod in Albanos parabat, opprimendis Vindicis coeptis revocaverat: ingens novis rebus materia, ut non in unum aliquem prono favore, ita audenti parata.

VII. Forte congruerat, ut Clodii Macri et Fonteii Capitonis cædes nunciarentur. Macrum, in Africa haud dubie turbantem, Trebonius Garucianus, Procurator, jussu Galbæ; Capitonem in Germania, cum similia cœptaret, Cornelius Aquinus et Fabius Valens, Legati legionum, interfecerant, antequam juberentur. Fuere qui crederent, Capitonem, ut avaritia et libidine fœdum ac maculosum, ita cogitatione rerum novarum abstinuisse; sed a Legatis, bellum suadentibus, postquam inpellere nequiverint, crimen ac dolum compositum ultro: et Galbam mobilitate ingenii, an, ne altius scrutaretur, quoquo modo acta, quia mutari non poterant, comprobasse. Ceterum utraque cædes sinistre accepta: et invisio semel Principe, seu bene, seu male facta premunt. (*w*) Ita adferebant venalia cuncta præ-potentes liberti: servorum manus subitis avidæ, et, tamquam apud senem, festinantes: eademque novæ aulæ mala, æque gravia, non æque excusata. Ipsa ætas (*x*) Gal-

*t* Nero had formed a new legion, composed of men drafted from the marines. See this book, s. xxxi. It is to these that Tacitus refers.

*u* The forces from Britain and Germany, which Nero had sent forward on a wild expedition to the straits of the Caspian Sea, were all recalled to quell the insurrection of Vindex, in Gaul.

*v* Supply *portarum*.

*w* The idea is, that the acts of princes, when the current of the times is set against them, are taken in gross, and, whether good or evil, condemned without distinction.

*x* Galba, at his elevation to the imperial dignity, was seventy-three years old.

bæ inrisui ac fastidio erat adsuētis iuventæ Neronis, et Imperatores forma ac decore corporis, ut est mos vulgi, comparantibus.

VIII. Et hic quidem Romæ, tamquam in tanta multitudine, habitus animorum fuit. E provinciis, Hispaniæ præerat Cluvius Rufus, vir facundus et pacis artibus, bellis inexpertus. (*y*) Galliæ, super memoriam Vindicis, obligatæ recenti dono Romanæ civitatis, et in posterum tributi levamento. Proximæ tamen Germanicis exercitibus Galliarum civitates, non eodem honore habitæ, quædam etiam finibus adeptis, pari dolore commoda aliena ac suas injurias metiebantur. Germanici exercitus, quod periculosissimum in tantis viribus, solliciti et irati, superbia recentis victoriæ, (*z*) et metu, tamquam alias partes fovissent. Tarde a Nerone desciverant; nec statim pro Galba Verginius: an imperare voluisset, dubium; delatum ei a milite Imperium, conveniebat. Fonteium Capitonem occisum, etiam qui queri non poterant, tamen indignabantur. (*a*) Dux deerat, abducto Verginio, per simulationem amicitiae; quem non remitti, atque etiam reum esse, tamquam suum crimen accipiebant.

IX. Superior exercitus Legatum, Hordeonium Flaccum, spernebat, senecta ac debilitate pedum invalidum, sine constantia, sine auctoritate, ne quieto quidem milite, regimen; adeo furentes infirmitate retinentis ultro accendebantur. (*b*) Inferioris Germaniæ legiones diutius sine Consulari fuere; donec, missu Galbæ, A. Vitellius (*c*) aderat, Censoris Vi-

*y E provinciis, etc.* With regard to the provinces, Spain was governed by Cluvius Rufus, a man distinguished by his eloquence, and well accomplished in the arts of peace, but of no reputation in war.

*z The German armies obtained a complete victory over Vindex at Vesontium.*

*a Even those, who could not deny the justice of the measure in putting Fonteius Capito to death, exclaimed against it with indignation.*

*b Ne quieto, etc.* Unequal to the command even in quiet times, he was now, in a camp full of bold and turbulent spirits, unable to support his authority.

*c This was Vitellius, whom in the sequel we shall see emperor of Rome. Galba sent him to command on the Lower Rhine, while Hordeonius Flaccus, a man in years, and greatly afflicted with the gout, was likely to remain inactive in the province of Upper Germany.*

tellii ac ter Consulís filius : id satis videbatur. (*d*) In Britannico exercitu nihil irarum. Non sane aliæ legiones, per omnes civilium bellorum motus, innocentius egerunt : seu, quia procul et Oceano divisæ ; seu crebris expeditionibus doctæ hostem potius ødisse. Quies et Illyrico ; quamquam excitæ a Nerone legiones, dum in Italia cunctantur, Verginium legationibus adissent. Sed longis spatiis discreti exercitus, quod saluberrimum est ad continendam militarem fidem, nec vitiis, nec viribus miscebantur.

X. Oriens adhuc inmotus. Syriam et quatuor legiones obtinebat Licinius Mucianus, vir secundis adversisque juxta famosus. Insignes amicitias juvenis ambitiose coluerat : mox, adtritís opibus, lubrico statu, suspecta etiam Claudii iracundia, in secretum Asiæ repositus, tam prope ab exsule fuit, quam postea a Principe. Luxuria, industria, comitate, adrogantia, malis bonisque artibus mixtus : nimix voluptates, cum vacaret ; quoties expedierat, (*e*) magnæ virtutes : palam laudes ; secreta male audiebant. Sed apud subjectos, apud proximos, apud conlegas, variis inlecebris potens ; et cui expeditus fuerit tradere imperium, quam obtinere. Bellum Judaicum Flavius Vespasianus, Ducem eum Nero delegerat, tribus legionibus administrabat. Nec Vespasiano adversus Galbam votum aut animus. Quippe Titum, filium, ad venerationem cultumque ejus miserat, ut suo loco memorabimus. Occulta lege fati et ostentis ac responsis destinatum Vespasiano liberisque ejus Imperium, post fortunam (*f*) credidimus.

XI. Ægyptum copiasque, quibus coerceretur, jam inde a D. Augusto, Equites Romani obtinent loco Regum. (*g*) Ita visum expedire, provinciam aditu difficilem, annonæ fecundam, superstitione ac lascivia discordem ac mobilem, insciam legum, ignaram Magistratum, domi retinere. (*h*)

*d* The short reflection of Tacitus on the appointment of Vitellius is understood differently by the commentators. According to some, the true reading is, *Id satis videbatur*. That was thought sufficient ; according to others, *Id fati videbatur*. The fates ordained it.

*e* *Expedierat*. He was engaged in war. In which sense the same verb is used in s. 88.

*f* *Post fortunam*. After he obtained the sovereign authority.

*g* *Loco regum*. In the place, or with the authority of the ancient Egyptian Kings.

*h* *Domi retinere*. To reserve the administration for his own cabinet council. It was the policy of Augustus to keep the management of Egypt, the great corn-market of Rome, in his own hands.



Regebat tum Tiberius Alexander, ejusdem nationis. Africa ac legiones in ea, interfecto Clodio Macro, contenta qualicumque Principe, post experimentum domini minoris. Duæ Mauretaniæ, Rhætia, Noricum, Thracia, (i) et quæ aliæ Procuratoribus cohibentur, ut cuique exercitui vicinæ, ita in favorem aut odium contactu valentiorum agebantur. Inermes provinciæ, atque ipsa in primis Italia, cuicumque servitio exposita, in pretium belli cessuræ erant. Hic fuit rerum Romanarum status, cum Ser. Galba iterum, Titus Vinius, Consules, inchoavere annum, sibi ultimum, Reip. prope supremum.

XII. Paucis post Kal. Januarias diebus Pompeii Propinqui, Procuratoris, e Belgica (j) litteræ adferuntur; ‘superioris Germaniæ legiones, rupta sacramenti reverentia, Imperatorem alium flagitare, et Senatui ac Pop. Rom. arbitrium eligendi permittere;’ quo seditio mollius acciperetur. Maturavit ea res consilium Galbæ, jam pridem de adoptione secum et cum proximis agitantis. Non sane crebrior tota civitate sermo per illos menses fuerat: primum licentia ac libidine talia loquendi, dein fessa jam ætate Galbæ. Paucis judicium aut Reip. amor: multi occulta spe, prout quis amicus vel cliens, hunc vel illum ambitiosis rumoribus destinabant, etiam in T. Vinii odium, qui in dies quanto potentior, eodem actu invisior erat. Quippe hiantes, in magna fortuna, amicorum cupiditates ipsa Galbæ facilitas intendebat: cum apud infirmum et credulum minore metu et majore præmio peccaretur.

XIII. Potentia Principatus divisa in T. Vinium, Consu-

i Mauritania, a large region of Africa, extending from east to west along the Mediterranean, divided by the Emperor Claudius into, *Cæsariensis*, the eastern part, and *Tingitana*, the western. It had Numidia to the east, and Getulia to the south, and was also bounded by the Atlantic Ocean, the Straits of Gibraltar and the Mediterranean to the north. Now called Barbary. Rhætia, bounded by the Rhine to the west, the Alps to the east, by Italy to the south, and Vindelicia to the north. Now the country of the Grisons. Noricum, a Roman province, bounded by the Danube on the north, by the *Alpes Noricæ* on the south, by Pannonia on the east and Vindelicia on the west; now containing a great part of Austria, Tyrol, Bavaria, &c. Thracia, an extensive region, bounded to the north by mount Haemus, to the south by the Ægean sea, and by the Euxine and Propontis to the east.

j Belgic Gaul began from the Scheldt and extended to the river Seine. The revolt of the legions on the Upper Rhine is related by Suetonius, in Galba, s. 16.

lem, et Cornelium Laconem, Prætorii Præfectum. Nec minor gratia Icelo, Galbæ liberto, quem annulis donatum, (*k*) Equestri nomine ‘Martianum’ vocitabant. Hi discordes, et rebus minoribus sibi quisque tendentes, circa consilium eligendi successoris in duas factiones scindebantur. Vinius pro M. Othone: Laco atque Icelus consensu non tam unum aliquem fovebant, quam alium. Neque erat Galbæ ignota Othonis ac T. Vinii amicitia; et rumoribus nihil silentio transmittentium, (quia Vinio vidua filia, cælebs Otho) gener ac socer destinabantur. Credo et Reip. curam subisse, frustra a Nerone translata, si apud Othonem relinqueretur. Namque Otho pueritiam incuriose. adolescentiam petulanter egerat; gratus Neroni æmulatione luxus: eoque jam Poppæam Sabinam, principale scortum, ut apud conscium libidinum deposuerat, donec Octaviam uxorem amoliretur: mox suspectum in eadem Poppæa in provinciam Lusitaniam, specie legationis, seposuit. Otho, comiter administrata provincia, primus in partes transgressus, nec segnis, et, donec bellum fuit, inter præsentis splendidissimus, spem adoptionis, statim conceptam, acrius in dies rapiebat: faventibus plerisque militum, prona in eum aula Neronis, ut similem.

XIV. Sed Galba, post nuncios Germanicæ seditionis, quamquam nihil adhuc de Vitellio certum, anxius quonam exercituum vis erumperet, ne urbano quidem militi confisus, quod remedium unicum rebatur, comitia imperii transigit: adhibitoque, super Vinium ac Laconem, Mario Celso, Consule designato, ac Ducennio Gemino, Præfecto urbis, pauca præfatus ‘de sua senectute, Pisonem Licinianum arcessi’ jubet; seu propria electione, sive, ut quidam crediderunt, Lacone instante, cui apud Rubellium Plautum exercita cum Pisone amicitia: sed callide, ut ignotum, fovebat; et prospera de Pisone fama consilio ejus fidem addiderat. Piso, M. Crasso et Scribonia genitus, nobilis utrimque, vultu habituque moris antiqui, et æstimatione recta severus, deterius interpretantibus tristior habebatur: ea pars morum ejus, quo suspectior sollicitis, adoptanti placebat.

XV. Igitur Galba, adprehensa Pisonis manu, in hunc

*k Annulis donatum.* One of the badges of the Roman Knights was a golden ring; hence *annulo aureo donari* signified to be elected a knight, and *annulis donatum* is here used by Tacitus with the same signification.

modum locutus fertur : ‘ Si te privatus lege curiata (*l*) apud  
 ‘ Pontifices, ut moris est, adoptarem, et mihi egregium erat,  
 ‘ Cn. Pompeii et M. Crassi subolem in Penates meos ad-  
 ‘ sciscere, et tibi insigne, Sulpiciæ ac Lutatiae (*m*) decora  
 ‘ nobilitati tuæ adjecisse. Nunc me, Deorum hominumque  
 ‘ consensu ad Imperium vocatum, præclara indoles tua et  
 ‘ amor patriæ inpulit, ut Principatum, de quo majores nos-  
 ‘ tri armis certabant, bello adèptus, quiescenti offeram, ex-  
 ‘ emplo D. Augusti, qui sororis filium, Marcellum, dein ge-  
 ‘ nerum, Agrippam, mox nepotes suos, postremo Tiberium  
 ‘ Neronem, privignum, in proximo sibi fastigio conlocavit.  
 ‘ Sed Augustus in domo successorem quæsivit ; ego, in Re-  
 ‘ publica : non, quia propinquos aut socios belli non habe-  
 ‘ am ; sed neque ipse Imperium ambitione accepi : et judi-  
 ‘ cii mei documentum sint non meæ tantum necessitudines,  
 ‘ quas tibi postposui, sed et tuæ. Est tibi frater pari nobi-  
 ‘ litate, natu major, dignus hac fortuna, nisi tu potior esses.  
 ‘ Ea ætas tua, quæ cupiditates adolescentiæ jam effugerit ;  
 ‘ ea vita, in qua nihil præteritum excusandum habeas.  
 ‘ Fortunam adhuc tantum adversam tulisti ; (*n*) secundæ  
 ‘ res acrioribus stimulis animos explorant, quia miseriæ to-  
 ‘ lerantur, felicitate conrumpimur. Fidem, libertatem,  
 ‘ amicitiam, præcipua humani animi bona, tu quidem eadem  
 ‘ constantia retinebis : sed alii per obsequium imminuent.  
 ‘ Inrumpet adulatio, blanditiæ, pessimum veri adfectus ve-  
 ‘ nenum, sua cuique utilitas. Ego, ac tu, simplicissime in-  
 ‘ ter nos hodie loquimur : ceteri libentius cum fortuna nos-  
 ‘ tra, quam nobiscum. Nam suadere principi, quod opor-  
 ‘ teat, multi laboris : adsentatio erga Principem quemcum-  
 ‘ que sine adfectu peragitur.

XVI. ‘ Etiam, si inmensum Imperii corpus stare ac li-  
 ‘ brari sine rectore posset, dignus eram, a quo Resp. incipe-  
 ‘ ret : nunc eo necessitatis jam pridem ventum est, ut nec  
 ‘ mea senectus conferre plus Populo Rom. possit, quam bo-  
 ‘ num successorem, nec tua plus inventa, quam bonum  
 ‘ Principem. Sub Tiberio et Caio et Claudio unius fami-

*l* Romulus divided the citizens of Rome into thirty *curiæ*, and from that circumstance, the *Lex Curiata* took its name. The laws were enacted by the people assembled in their several *curiæ*.

*m Sulpiciæ ac Lutatiae.* The word *gentis* is understood.

*n* Piso's father, mother and brother were put to death by Clau-  
 dius. Another brother (the conspiracy against Nero being detect-  
 ed) opened his veins and bled to death.



liæ quasi hereditas fuimus : loco libertatis erit, quod eligi cœpimus. Et, finita Juliorum Claudiorumque domo, optimum quemque adoptio inveniet. Nam generari et nasci a Principibus, fortuitum, nec ultra æstimatur : adoptandi judicium integrum ; et, si velis eligere, consensu monstratur. (o) Sit ante oculos Nero, quem, longa Cæsarum serie tumentem, non Vindex cum inermi provincia, aut ego cum una legione, sed sua inmanitas, sua luxuria, cervicibus publicis depulere : neque erat adhuc damnati Principis exemplum. (p) Nos bello et ab æstimantibus adsciti, cum invidia, quamvis egregii, erimus. Ne tamen territus fueris, si duæ legiones in hoc concussi orbis motu nondum quiescunt. Ne ipse quidem ad securas res accessi : et, audita adoptione, desinam videri senex ; quod nunc mihi unum objicitur. Nero a pessimo quoque semper desiderabitur : mihi ac tibi providendum est, ne etiam a bonis desideretur. Monere diutius, neque temporis hujus ; et inpletum est omne consilium, si te bene elegi. Utilissimusque idem ac brevissimus bonarum malarumque rerum delectus est, cogitare, quid aut volueris sub alio Principe, aut nolueris. Neque enim hic, ut in ceteris gentibus, quæ regnantur, certa dominorum domus, et ceteri servi : sed imperaturus es hominibus, qui nec totam servitutem pati possunt, nec totam libertatem.' Et Galba quidem hæc ac talia, tamquam Principem faceret ; ceteri tamquam cum facto loquebantur.

XVII. Pisonem, ferunt, statim intuentibus, et mox conjectis in eum omnium oculis, nullum turbati aut exsultantis animi motum prodidisse. Sermo erga patrem Imperatoremque reverens, de se moderatus ; nihil in vultu habituque mutatum : quasi imperare posset magis, quam vellet. Consultatum inde, ' pro rostris, an in Senatu, an in castris adoptio nuncuparetur. Iri in castra,' placuit : ' honorificum id militibus fore, quorum favorem, ut largitione et ambitu male adquiri, ita per bonas artes haud spernendum.' Circumsteterat interim palatium publica exspec-

*o Adoptandi, etc.* Murphy translates this sentence ; The method of adoption allows time to deliberate, and the public voice will serve as a guide to direct the judgment of the Emperor.

*p* Nero was condemned by the Senate to be dragged through the streets of Rome, and whipped to death. He prevented the execution of this sentence by a voluntary death. He killed himself A. D. 68.



tatio, magni secreti inpatiens : et male coercitam famam supprimentes augebant. (*q*)

XVIII. Quartum Idus Januarias, fœdum imbris diem, tonitrua et fulgura et cœlestes minæ ultra solitum turbaverant. Observatum id antiquitus comitiis dirimendis (*r*) non terruit Galbam, quo minus in castra pergeret, contemptorem talium, ut fortuitorum ; seu, quæ fato manent, quamvis significata, non vitantur. Apud frequentem militum concionem, Imperatoria brevitate, ‘adoptari a se Pisonem, more D. Augusti et exemplo militari, quo vir virum legeret,’ (*s*) pronuntiat. Ac ne dissimulata seditio in majus crederetur, ultro adseverat, ‘quartam et duodevicesimam legiones, paucis seditionis auctoribus, non ultra verba ac voces errasse, et brevi in officio fore.’ Nec ullum orationi aut lenocinium addit aut pretium. Tribuni tamen Centurionesque et proximi militum grata auditu respondent : per ceteros mæstitia ac silentium, tamquam usurpatam etiam in pace donativi necessitatem bello perdidissent. Constat, potuisse conciliari animos quantulacumque parci senis liberalitatē : nocuit antiquus rigor et nimia severitas ; cui jam pares non sumus.

XIX. Inde apud Senatum non comptior Galbæ, non longior, quam apud militem sermo : Pisonis comis oratio. Et Patrum favor aderat ; multi voluntate effusius ; qui noluerant, mediè ; ac plurimi obvio obsequio, privatas spes agitantes, sine publica cura. Nec aliud sequenti quadriduo (quod medium inter adoptionem et cædem fuit) dictum a Pisone in publico factumve. Crebrioribus in dies Germanicæ defectionis nuntiis, et facili civitate ad accipienda credendaque omnia nova, cum tristia sunt, censuerant Patres, mittendos ad Germanicum exercitum legatos : agitatum secreto, num et Piso proficisceretur, majore prætextu ; illi

*q* *Circumsteterat, etc.* Meanwhile, the populace, rushing from every quarter, surrounded the palace, impatient for the important news, and growing more eager in proportion to the delay of the politicians, who affected an air of mystery, when the secret had already transpired.

*r* Thunder and lightning was always considered by the Romans as a warning not to transact public business.

*s* According to a military custom established in an early period of the commonwealth, every Roman soldier chose his favourite comrade, and by that tie of friendship, all were mutually bound to share every danger with their fellows.

auctoritatem Senatus, hic dignationem Cæsaris laturus. Placebat et Laconem, Prætorii Præfectum, simul mitti. Is consilio intercessit. Legati quoque (nam Senatus electionem Galbæ permiserat) fœda inconstantia nominati, excusati, substituti, ambitu remanendi aut eundi, ut quemque metus vel spes inpulerat.

XX. Proxima pecuniæ cura: et cuncta scrutantibus justissimum visum est, inde repeti, unde inopiæ caussa erat. Bis et vicies millies sestertium donationibus Nero effuderat. Adpellari singulos jussit, decuma parte liberalitatis apud quemque eorum relicta. At illis vix decumæ super portiones erant, iisdem erga aliena sumptibus, quibus sua prodegerant; cum rapacissimo cuique ac perditissimo non agri, aut fenus, sed sola instrumenta vitiorum manerent. Exactioni XXX Equites Romani præpositi; novum officii genus, et ambitu ac numero onerosum: ubique hasta (t) et sector; et inquieta urbs auctionibus. Attamen grande gaudium, quod tam pauperes forent, quibus donasset Nero, quam quibus abstulisset. Exauctorati per eos dies Tribuni, e Prætorio Antonius Taurus et Antonius Naso; ex urbanis cohortibus Æmilius Pacensis; e vigiliis Julius Fronto. Nec remedium in ceteros fuit, sed metus initium: tamquam per artem et formidinem singuli pellerentur, omnibus suspectis.

XXI. Interea Othonem, cui, compositis rebus, nulla spes, omné in turbido consilium, multa simul exstimulabant: luxuria etiam Principi (u) onerosa: inopia vix privato toleranda, in Galbam ira, in Pisonem invidia. Fingebat et metum, quo magis concupisceret. 'Prægravem se Neroni fuisse: nec Lusitaniam rursus, et alterius exsilii honorem expectandum: suspectum semper invisumque dominantibus, qui proximus destinaretur. Nocuisse id sibi apud senem Principem: magis nociturum apud juvenem, ingenio trucem, et longo exsilio efferatum. Occidi Othonem posse. Proinde agendum audendumque, dum Galbæ auctoritas fluxa, Pisonis nondum coaluisset. Opportunos magnis

t *Ubique hasta.* There were auctions every where. A spear fixed in the earth was the auctioneer's sign.

u *Etiam Principi.* Although he had been a Prince, Otho did not scruple to say, that nothing short of the imperial power could save him from utter ruin; and whether he died in battle, or fell a victim to his creditors, was immaterial.

‘conatibus transitus rerum: (v) nec cunctatione opus, ubi  
 ‘perniciosior sit quies, quam temeritas. Mortem omnibus  
 ‘ex natura æqualem, oblivione apud posteros vel gloria dis-  
 ‘tingui. Ac, si nocentem innocentemque idem exitus ma-  
 ‘neat, acrioris viri esse, merito perire.’

XXII. Non erat Othonis mollis et corpori similis animus. Et intimi libertorum servorumque, corruptius quam in privata domo habiti, aulam Neronis et *luxus*, adulteria, matrimonia, ceterasque Regnorum libidines, avido talium, si auderet, ut sua ostentantes; quiescenti, ut aliena, exprobrabant: urgentibus etiam mathematicis, dum ‘novos motus, et clarum Othoni annum, observatione siderum,’ adfirmant: genus hominum potentibus infidum, sperantibus fallax, quod in civitate nostra et vetabitur semper, et retinebitur. Multos secreta Poppææ mathematicos, (w) pessimum Principis matrimonii instrumentum, habuerant: e quibus Ptolemæus, Othoni in Hispania comes, cum ‘super-  
 ‘futurum eum Neroni’ promisisset, postquam ex eventu fides, conjectura jam et rumore senium Galbæ et juventam Othonis computantium, persuaserat, ‘fore, ut in Imperium  
 ‘adscisceretur.’ Sed Otho tamquam peritia et monitu factorum prædicta accipiebat, cupidine ingenii humani libentius obscura credendi. Nec deerat Ptolemæus, jam et sceleris instigator, ad quod facillime ab ejusmodi voto transitur.

XXIII. Sed sceleris cogitatio incertum an repens: studia militum jam pridem, spe successionis, aut paratu facinoris, adfectaverat; in itinere, in agmine, in stationibus, vetustissimum quemque militum nomine vocans, ac, memoria Neroniani comitatus, ‘contubernales’ adpellando; alios agnoscere, quosdam requirere et pecunia aut gratia juvare: inserendo sæpius querelas et ambiguos de Galba sermones, quæque alia turbamenta vulgi. Labores itinerum, inopia comæatuum, duritia imperii, atrocius accipiebantur, cum, Campaniæ lacus et Achaïæ urbes classibus adire soliti, Pyrenæum et Alpes et immensa viarum spatia ægre sub armis eniterentur. (x)

v *Opportunos, etc.* The convulsions of States afford the true season for courage and vigorous enterprise.

w *Mathematicos.* Judicial astrologers.

x Campania was a territory of Italy, bounded on the west by the Tuscan sea; now called *Terra di Lavoro*. Achaïa, often taken for part of Peloponnesus, but in Tacitus generally for all Greece. *Pyrenæum*, a long range of mountains separating Gaul from Spain.



XXIV. Flagrantibus jam militum animis velut faces addiderat Mævius Pudens, e proximis Tigellini : is mobilissimum quemque ingenio, aut pecuniæ indigum, et in novas cupiditates præcipitem adliciendo, eo paullatim progressus est, ut per speciem convivii, (*y*) quotiens Galba apud Othonem epularetur, cohorti excubias agenti viritim centenos nummos divideret : quam velut publicam largitionem Otho secretioribus apud singulos præmiis intendebat ; adeo animosus corruptor, ut Cocceio Proculo, speculatori, (*z*) de parte finium cum vicino ambigenti, universum vicini agrum, sua pecunia emptum, dono dederit, per socordiam Præfecti, quem nota pariter et occulta fallebant.

XXV. Sed tum e libertis Onomastum futuro sceleri præfecit, a quo Barbium Proculum, Tesserarium (*a*) speculatorum, et Veturium, Optionem eorundem, perductos, postquam vario sermone callidos audacesque cognovit, pretio et permissis onerat, data pecunia ad pertentandos plurimum animos. Suscepere duo manipulares Imperium Pop. Rom. transferendum ; et transtulerunt. In conscientiam facinoris pauci adsciti : suspensos ceterorum animos diversis artibus stimulant : primores militum, per beneficia Nymphidii ut suspectos : vulgus et ceteros, ira et desperatione dilati totiens donativi : erant, quos memoria Neronis ac desiderium prioris licentiæ accenderet : in commune omnes metu mutandæ militiæ terrebantur.

XXVI. Infecit ea tabes legionum quoque et auxiliorum motas jam mentes, postquam vulgatum erat, ‘ labare Germanici exercitus fidem.’ Adeoque parata apud malos seditio, etiam apud integros dissimulatio fuit, ut postero Iduum die redeuntem a cœna Othonem rupturi fuerint, nisi incerta noctis, et tota urbe sparsa militum castra, nec facilem inter temulentos consensum, timuissent : non Reipublicæ cura, quam fœdare Principis sui sanguine sobrii parabant ; sed ne per tenebras, ut quisque Pannonici vel Germanici exercitus militibus adlatus esset, ignorantibus plerisque, pro-

*Alpes*, or the Alps, are a range of high mountains separating Italy from Gaul and Germany. They are called Alps from *Alpen*, a Celtic term for high mountains.

*y Per speciem convivii.* Under colour of an allowance for their convivial party.

*z Speculatori.* A soldier of the body-guard.

*a Tesserarium.* One, whose duty it was to bear the watch-word to the night guard.



Othone destinaretur. Multa erumpentis seditionis indicia per conscios oppressa: quædam apud Galbæ aures Præfectus Laco elusit, ignarus militarium animorum, consilii que quamvis egregii, quod non ipse adferret, inimicus, et adversus peritos pervicax.

XXVII. Octavodecimo Kal. Febr. sacrificanti pro æde Apollinis Galbæ Haruspex Umbricius ‘tristia exta et instantes’ insidias ac domesticum hostem’ prædicit; audiente Othone (nam proximus adstiterat) idque, ut laetum e contrario, et suis cogitationibus prosperum, interpretante. Nec multo post libertus Onomastus nuntiat, ‘expectari eum ab archi-’ ‘tecto et redemptoribus:’ quæ significatio coeuntium jam militum et paratæ conjurationis convenerat. Otho, ‘caus-’ ‘sam digressus’ requirentibus, cum, ‘emi sibi prædia ve-’ ‘tustate suspecta, eoque prius exploranda,’ finxisset, in- nixus liberto, per Tiberianam domum, in Velabrum, inde ad Milliarium aureum, (b) sub ædem Saturni, pergit. Ibi tres et viginti speculatores consalutatam ‘Imperatorem,’ ac paucitate salutantium trepidum, et sellæ festinanter in- positum, strictis mucronibus rapiunt. Totidem ferme mi- lites in itinere adgregantur: alii conscientia, plerique mira- culo; pars clamore et gaudio, (c) pars silentio, animum ex eventu sumpturi.

XXVIII. Stationem in castris agebat Julius Martialis Tribunus. Is, magnitudine subiti sceleris, an corrupta la- tius castra, ac, si contra tenderet, exitium metuens, præbuit plerisque suspicionem conscientiæ. Anteposuerè ceteri quoque Tribuni Centurionesque præsentia dubiis et hones- tis. Ique habitus animorum fuit, ut pessimum facinus au- derent pauci, plures vellent, omnes paterentur.

XXIX. Ignarus interim Galba et sacris intentus, fatigabat alieni jam imperii Deos: cum adfertur rumor, ‘rapi in’ ‘castra, incertum quem Senatorem:’ mox, ‘Othonem’ ‘esse, qui raperetur:’ simul ex tota urbe, ut quisque obvi- us fuerat, alii formidinem augentes, quidam minora vero, ne tum quidem obliti adulationis. Igitur consultantibus pla- cuit, ‘pertentari animum cohortis, quæ in palatio stationem

b *Milliarium aureum.* The golden mile-pillar, erected by Augustus at the head of the Roman Forum, to which all the great roads through Italy converged, and from which the distance was calculat- ed and indicated on similar pillars erected on most of the important roads.

c *Gaudio.* Some commentators prefer *gladiis*.

‘ agebat : nec per ipsum Galbam ; cujus integra auctoritas  
 ‘ majoribus remediis servabatur.’ Piso pro gradibus do-  
 mus vocatos in hunc modum adlocutus est : ‘ Sextus dies  
 ‘ agitur, commilitones, ex quo, ignarus futuri, et sive op-  
 ‘ tandum hoc nomen, sive timendum erat, Cæsar adscitus  
 ‘ sum. Quo domus nostræ aut Reipublicæ fatum in vestra  
 ‘ manu positum est ; non, quia meo nomine tristiores ca-  
 ‘ sum paveam, (ut qui, adversas res expertus, cum maxime  
 ‘ discam, ne secundas quidem minus discriminis habere ;) )  
 ‘ patris, (*d*) et Senatus, et ipsius Imperii vicem doleo, si no-  
 ‘ bis aut perire hodie necesse est, aut, quod æque apud bo-  
 ‘ nos miserum est, occidere. Solatium proximi motus ha-  
 ‘ bebamus incruentam urbem, et res sine discordia transla-  
 ‘ tas. Provisum adoptione videbatur, ut ne post Galbam  
 ‘ quidem bello locus esset.

XXX. ‘ Nihil arrogabo mihi nobilitatis aut modestiæ : ne-  
 ‘ que enim relatu virtutum in comparatione Othonis opus  
 ‘ est. Vitia, quibus solis gloriatur, evertere Imperium,  
 ‘ etiam cum amicū Imperatoris ageret. (*e*) Habitune et  
 ‘ incessu, an illo muliebri ornatu (*f*) mereretur Imperium ?  
 ‘ Falluntur, quibus luxuria specie liberalitatis inponit.  
 ‘ Perdere iste sciet, donare nesciet. Stupra nunc et com-  
 ‘ missationes et seminarum cœtus volvit animo : hæc Prin-  
 ‘ cipatus præmia putat ; quorum libido ac voluptas penes  
 ‘ ipsum sit, rubor ac dedecus penes omnes. Nemo enim  
 ‘ unquam Imperium, flagitio quæsitum, bonis artibus exer-  
 ‘ cuit. Galbam consensus generis humani, me Galba, con-  
 ‘ sentientibus vobis, Cæsarem dixit. Si Respublica et Sena-  
 ‘ tus et Populus vana nomina sunt : vestra, commilitones,  
 ‘ interest, ne Imperatorem pessimi faciant. Legionum se-  
 ‘ ditio adversum Duces suos audita est aliquando : vestra  
 ‘ fides famaue inlæsa ad hunc diem mansit : et Nero quoque  
 ‘ vos destituit, non vos Nerōnem. Minus triginta transfugæ  
 ‘ et desertores, quos Centurionem aut Tribunum sibi eli-  
 ‘ gentes nemo ferret, Imperium adsignabunt ? Admittitis  
 ‘ exemplum ? et quiescendo commune crimen facitis ?  
 ‘ Transcendet hæc licentia in provincias : et ad nos scele-  
 ‘ rum exitus, bellorum ad vos, pertinebunt. Nec est plus,

*d* Patris. Galba, who was his adopted father.

*e* Imperatoris. Nero.

*f* See Juvenal's description of Otho's effeminacy, and his looking-  
 glass. Sat. ii. ver. 99.

‘quod pro cæde Principis, quam quod innocentibus datur :  
 ‘(g) sed perinde a nobis donativum ob fidem, quam ab aliis  
 ‘pro facinore accipietis.’

XXXI. Dilapsis speculatoribus, (h) cetera cohors, non adspersa concionantem, ut turbidis rebus evenit, forte magis et nullo adhuc consilio, parat signa, quam, quod postea creditum est, insidiis et simulatione. Missus et Celsus Marius ad electos Illyrici exercitus, Vipsania (i) in porticu tendentes. Præceptum Amulio Sereno et Domitio Sabino, primipilaribus, ‘ut Germanicos milites e Libertatis atrio ‘arcesserent.’ Legioni classicæ diffidebatur, infestæ ob cædem commilitonum, quos primo statim introitu trucidaverat Galba. Pergunt etiam in castra Prætorianorum Tribuni, Cerius Severus, Subrius Dexter, Pompeius Longinus; si incipiens adhuc, et necdum adulta seditio, melioribus consiliis flecteretur. Tribunorum Subrium et Cerium milites adorti minis, Longinum manibus coercent exarmantque, quia non ordine militiæ, (j) sed e Galbæ amicis, fidus Principi suo, et desciscentibus suspectior erat. Legio classica, nihil cunctata, Prætorianis adjungitur. Illyrici exercitus electi Celsum ingestis pilis proturbant, Germanica vexilla diu nutavere; invalidis adhuc corporibus et placatis animis, quod eos, a Nerone Alexandriam præmissos, atque inde rursus longa navigatione ægros, in pensiore cura Galba refovebat.

XXXII. Universa jam plebs palatium implebat, mixtis servitiis, et dissono clamore, ‘cædem Othonis et conjuratorum exitium,’ poscentium, ut si in circo ac theatro ludicrum aliquod postularent: neque illis judicium aut veritas: quippe eodem die diversa pari certamine postulaturis: sed tradito more, quemcumque Principem adulandi, licentia adclationum et studiis inanibus. Interim Galbam duæ sententiæ distinebant; T. Vinus, ‘manendum intra domum,

g *Nec est plus, etc.* By murdering your Prince, you may earn the wages of iniquity; but the reward of virtue will not be less.

h *Dilapsis speculatoribus.* i. e. those who before had been bribed by Otho.

i A portico built by Vipsanius Agrippa in the field of Mars. See Hor. Book 1. ep. 6. Illyricum, the country between Pannonia, to the north, and the Adriatic to the south. It is now comprised by Dalmatia and Slavonia.

j *Non ordine militiæ.* Promoted out of his turn.



‘opponenda servitia, firmandos aditus, non eundem ad iratos’ censebat : ‘daret malorum pœnitentiæ, daret bonorum consensui spatium : scelera inpetu, bona consilia morales valescere. Denique eundi ultro, si ratio sit, eandem mox facultatem : regressus, si pœniteat, in aliena potestate.

XXXIII. ‘Festinandum’ ceteris videbatur, ‘antequam cresceret invalida adhuc conjuratio paucorum. Trepidaturum etiam Othonem, qui furtim digressus, ad ignaros intratus, cunctatione nunc et segnitia terentium tempus imitari Principem discat. Non exspectandum, ut, compositis castris, forum invadat et, prospectante Galba, capitolum adeat : dum egregius Imperator, cum fortibus amicis, janua ac limine tenus domum cludit, obsidionem nimirum toleraturus. Et præclarum in servis auxilium, si consensus tantæ multitudinis, et, quæ plurimum valet, prima indignatio elanguescat. Proinde intuta, quæ indecora : vel, si cadere necesse sit, occurrendum discrimini. Id Othoni invidiosius, et ipsis honestum.’ Repugnantem huic sententiæ Vinium Laco minaciter invasit, stimulante Icelo, privati odii pertinacia, in publicum exitium.

XXXIV. Nec diutius Galba cunctatus, speciosiora suadentibus accessit. Præmissus tamen in castra Piso, ut juvenis magno nomine, recenti favore, et infensus T. Vinio seu quia erat, seu quia irati ita volebant ; et facilius de odio creditur. Vix dum egresso Pisone, occisum in castris Othonem, vagus primum et incertus rumor : mox, ut in magnis mendaciis, interfuisse se quidam et vidisse, adfirmabant, credula fama inter gaudentes et incuriosos. Multi arbitrabantur, compositum auctumque rumorem, mixtis jam Othonianis, qui ad evocandum Galbam læta falso vulgaverint.

XXXV. Tum vero non populus tantum et imperita plebs in plausus et inmodica studia, sed Equitum plerique ac Senatorum, posito metu incauti, refractis palatii foribus, ruere intus, ac se Galbæ ostentare, præreptam sibi ultionem querentes. Ignavissimus quisque et, ut res docuit, in periculo non ausurus, nimii verbis, linguæ feroces : nemo scire, et omnes adfirmare : donec inopia veri, et consensu errantium victus, sumpto thorace, Galba, inruenti turbæ, neque ætate, neque corpore sistens, sella levaretur. Obvius in palatio Julius Atticus, speculator, cruentum gladium ostentans, ‘occisum a se Othonem,’ exclamavit : et Galba, ‘Commilito,’ in-



quit, 'quis jussit?' (*k*) insigni animo ad coercendam militarem licentiam, minantibus intrepidus, adversus blandientes incorruptus.

XXXVI. Haud dubiæ jam in castris omnium mentes; tantusque ardor, ut, non contenti agmine et corporibus, in suggestu, in quo paullo ante aurea Galbæ statua (*l*) fuerat, medium inter signa Othonem vexillis circumdarent. Nec Tribunis aut Centurionibus adeundi locus: gregarius miles caveri insuper præpositos jubebat. Strepere cuncta clamoribus et tumultu et exhortatione mutua, non tamquam in populo ac plebe, variis segni adulatione vocibus, sed, ut quemque adfluentium militum adspexerant, prensare manibus, complecti armis, conlocare juxta, præire sacramentum, (*m*) modo Imperatorem militibus, modo Imperatori milites commendare. Nec deerat Otho, protendens manus, adorare vulgum, (*n*) jacere oscula, et omnia serviliter pro dominatione. Postquam universa classicorum legio sacramentum ejus accepit; fidens viribus, et, quos adhuc singulos extimulaverat, accendendo in commune ratus, pro vallo castrorum ita cœpit.

XXXVII. 'Quis ad vos processerim, commilitones, dicere non possum: quia nec privatum me vocare sustineo, Princeps a vobis nominatus; nec Principem, alio imperante. Vestrum quoque nomen in incerto erit, donec dubitabitur, Imperatorem Populi Rom. in castris, an hostem habeatis. Auditisne, ut poena mea et supplicium vestrum simul postulentur? adeo manifestum est, neque perire nos, neque salvos esse, nisi una, posse. Et, cujus lenitatis est Galba, jam fortasse promisit: ut qui, nullo expolente, tot millia innocentissimorum militum trucidaverit. Horror animum subit, quotiens recordor feralem introitum,

*k* Suetonius says, Galba put on his breast-plate, observing, at the same time, that it would be a poor defence against so many swords. Life of Galba, s. 19. Plutarch relates that the soldier, being asked by Galba, "Who gave you orders?" had the spirit to answer, "My oath and my duty."

*l* In every Roman camp, the statue of the Emperor was placed in the tribunal, at the head-quarters of the general.

*m* The form of the military oath was not always the same. The substance of it was, that they would obey their commander, and not desert their standards. One soldier was chosen to repeat over the words of the oath, and as he passed along every one said, *Idem in me, I swear the same.*

*n* Adorare vulgum. To court the common people.

‘ et hanc solam Galbæ victoriam, cum, in oculis urbis, de-  
 ‘ cumari deditos juberet, quos deprecantes in fidem accepe-  
 ‘ rat. His auspiciis urbem ingressus, quam gloriam ad Prin-  
 ‘ cipatum adtulit, nisi occisi Obultronii Sabini et Cornelii  
 ‘ Marcelli in Hispania, Betui Chilonis in Gallia, (o) Fonteii  
 ‘ Capitonis in Germania, Clodii Macri in Africa, (p) Cingo-  
 ‘ nii in via, Turpiliani in urbe, Nymphidii in castris? Quæ  
 ‘ usquam provincia, quæ castra sunt, nisi cruenta et macu-  
 ‘ lata? aut, ut ipse prædicat, emendata et correcta? Nam,  
 ‘ quæ alii scelera, hic remedia vocat: dum falsis nomini-  
 ‘ bus, severitatem pro sævitia, parsimoniam pro avaritia,  
 ‘ supplicia et contumelias vestras, disciplinam adpellat.  
 ‘ Septem a Neronis fine menses sunt, et jam plus rapuit  
 ‘ Icelus, quam quod Polycleti et Vatinii et Elii paraverunt.  
 ‘ Minore avaritia ac licentia grassatus esset T. Vinius, si  
 ‘ ipse imperasset: nunc et subjectos nos habuit, tamquam  
 ‘ suos, et viles, ut alienos. Una illa domus sufficit donati-  
 ‘ vo, quod vobis nunquam datur, et quotidie exprobratur.

XXXVIII. ‘ Ac, ne qua saltem in successore Galbæ spes  
 ‘ esset, arcessit ab exsilio, quem tristitia et avaritia sui simil-  
 ‘ limum judicabat. Vidistis, commilitones, notabili tem-  
 ‘ pestate etiam Deos infaustam adoptionem aversantes.  
 ‘ Idem Senatus, idem Populi Rom. animus est. Vestra vir-  
 ‘ tus exspectatur, apud quos omne honestis consiliis robur,  
 ‘ et sine quibus, quamvis egregia, invalida sunt. Non ad  
 ‘ bellum vos, nec ad periculum voco: omnium militum ar-  
 ‘ ma nobiscum sunt. Nec una cohors togata defendit nunc  
 ‘ Galbam, sed detinet. Cum vos adspexerit, cum signum  
 ‘ meum acceperit, hoc solum erit certamen, quis mihi plu-  
 ‘ rimum imputet. (q) Nullus cunctationi locus est in eo

o *Gallia*, the country of ancient Gaul, now France. It was di-  
 vided by the Romans into *Gallia Cisalpina*, viz. Gaul on the Italian  
 side of the Alps; and *Gallia Transalpina*, being, with respect to  
 Rome, on the other side of the Alps. *Hispania*, Spain. It has the  
 sea on every side except that next to Gaul, from which it is sepa-  
 rated by the Pyrenees.

p *Germania*, ancient Germany was bounded on the east by the  
 Vistula, on the north by the ocean, on the west by the Rhine, on  
 the south by the Danube. *Africa* generally means in Tacitus that  
 part, which was made a proconsular province, of which Carthage  
 was the capital; now the territory of Tunis.

q *Cum vos, etc.* When they see you advancing, and my signal is  
 given, the only struggle will be, who shall have the greatest claims  
 upon me; i. e. for his exertions in my favour.

‘ consilio, quod non potest laudari, nisi peractum.’ Aperire deinde armamentarium jussit : rapta statim arma, sine more et ordine militiæ, ut prætorianus aut legionarius insignibus suis distingueretur : miscentur auxiliariis galeis scutisque. Nullo Tribunorum Centurionumve adhortante, sibi quisque dux et instigator : et præcipuum pessimorum incitamentum, quod boni mærebant.

XXXIX. Jam exterritus Piso fremitu crebrescentis seditionis, et vocibus in urbem usque resonantibus, egressum interim Galbam, et foro adpropinquantem, adsecutus erat : jam Marius Celsus haud læta retulerat : cum alii, ‘ in palatium redire,’ alii, ‘ capitolium petere,’ plerique, ‘ rostra occupanda,’ censerent, plures tantum sententiis aliorum contradicerent, utque evenit in consiliis infelicibus, optima viderentur, quorum tempus effugerat. Agitasse Laco, ignaro Galba, de occidendo T. Vinio dicitur, sive ut pœna ejus animos militum mulceret, seu conscium Othonis credebatur, ad postremum, vel odio : hæsitacionem adtulit tempus ac locus, quia, initio cædis orto, difficilis modus : et turbare consilium trepidi nuncii ac proximorum diffugia, languentibus omnium studiis, qui primo alacres fidem atque animum ostentaverant.

XL. Agebatur huc illuc Galba, vario turbæ fluctuantis impulsu : completis undique basilicis ac templis, lugubri prospectu : neque populi, aut plebis ulla vox ; sed adtoniti vultus et conversæ ad omnia aures : non tumultus, non quies : quale magni metus et magnæ iræ silentium est. Othoni tamen, ‘ armari plebem,’ nuntiabatur. ‘ Ire præcipientes et ‘ occupare pericula’ jubet. Igitur milites Romani, quasi Vologesen aut Pacorum avito Arsacidarum solio depulsuri, ac non Imperatorem suum inermem et senem trucidare pergerent, disjecta plebe, proculcato Senatu, truces armis, rapidis equis, forum inrumpunt : nec illos capitolii adspectus, et imminentium templorum religio, et priores et futuri Principes terruere, quo minus facerent scelus, cujus ultor est, quisquis successisset.

XLI. Viso cominus armatorum agmine, vexillarius comitatæ Galbam cohortis (‘ Atilium Vergilionem fuisse’ tradunt) dereptam Galbæ imaginem solo adflixit. Eo signo manifesta in Othonem omnium militum studia, desertum fuga populi forum, dstricta adversus dubitantes tela. Juxta Curtii lacum, trepidatione ferentium Galba projectus e sella ac provolutus est. Extremam ejus vocem, ut cuique odium



aut admiratio fuit, varie prodidere. Alii, suppliciter interrogasse, 'quid mali meruisset? paucos dies exsolvendo do-  
'nativo' deprecatum: plures, obtulisse ultro percussoribus jugulum, 'agerent ac ferirent, si ita e Republica videretur:' non interfuit occidentium, quid diceret. De percussore non satis constat: quidam 'Terentium Evocatum,' (r) alii 'Lecanium;' crebrior fama tradidit 'Camurium' quintæ decimæ legionis militem, inpresso gladio, jugulum 'ejus hausisse.' Ceteri crura brachiaque, nam pectus tegebatur, (s) fœde laniavere: pleraque vulnera feritate et sævitia trunco jam corpori adjecta.

XLII. Titum inde Vinium invasere: de quo et ipso ambigitur, consumpseritne vocem ejus instans metus, an proclamaverit, 'non esse ab Othone mandatum, ut occideretur.' Quod seu finxit formidine, seu conscientiam conjurationis confessus est: huc potius ejus vita famaue inclinât, ut conscius sceleris fuerit, cujus caussa erat. (t) Ante ædem divi Julii jacuit, primo ictu in poplitem, mox ab Julio Caro, legionario milite, utrumque latus transverberatus. Insignem illa die virum Sempronium Densum ætas nostra vidit.

XLIII. Centurio is Prætorix cohortis, a Galba custodiæ Pisonis additus, stricto pugione occurrens armatis et scelus exprobrans, ac modo manu, modo voce, vertendo in se percussores, quamquam vulnerato Pisoni effugium dedit. Piso in ædem Vestæ pervasit, exceptusque misericordia publici servi et contubernio ejus abditus, non religione, nec cærimoniis, sed latebra imminens exitium differebat: cum advenire, missu Othonis, nominatim in cædem ejus ardentes, Sulpicius Florus, e Britannicis cohortibus, nuper a Galba civitate donatus, et Statius Murcus, speculator: a quibus protractus Piso, in foribus templi trucidatur.

XLIV. Nullam cædem Otho majore lætitia excepisse, nullum caput tam insatiabilibus oculis perlustrasse dicitur: (u) sed tum primum levata omni sollicitudine mens vacare

r *Evocatum*. Veteran soldiers, who had served out their time, were often induced to enlist again, who were then called *Evocati*.

s *Pectus tegebatur*. With a breast-plate. See sec. 35 of this book.

t Galba laboured under the weight of crimes committed by his minister Titus Vinus, who is said to have been an accomplice in the plot, which was occasioned by his own iniquity.

u On seeing the head of Galba, Otho cried out, "This is nothing, my fellow soldiers, bring me the head of Piso." See Plutarch, Life of Galba.



gaudio cœperat : seu recordatio majestatis in Galba, amicitiae in T. Vinio, quamvis inमितem animum imagine tristi confuderat : Pisonis, ut inimici et æmuli, cæde lætari, jus fasque credebat. Præfixa contis capita gestabantur, inter signa cohortium, juxta aquilam legionis : certatim ostentantibus cruentas manus, qui occiderant, qui interfuerant, qui vere, qui falso, ut pulchrum et memorabile facinus, jactabant. Plures quam centum et viginti libellos præmia exposcentium, ob aliquam notabilem illa die operam, Vitellius postea invenit : omnesque conquiri et interfici jussit : non honore Galbæ, sed tradito Principibus more, munimentum ad præsens, in posterum ultionem.

XLV. Alium crederes Senatum, alium populum : ruere cuncti in castra, anteire proximos, certare cum præcurrentibus, increpare Galbam, laudare militum judicium, exoculari Othonis manum : quantoque magis falsa erant, quæ fiebant, tanto plura facere. Non adspernabatur singulos Otho, avidum et minacem militum animum voce vultuque temperans. Marium Celsum, Consulem designatum et Galbæ usque in extremas res amicum fidumque, ad supplicium expostulabant, industriæ ejus innocentiaeque, quasi malis artibus, infensi. Cædis et prædarum initium et optimo cuique perniciem quæri adparebat : sed Othoni nondum auctoritas inerat ad prohibendum scelus : jubere jam poterat. Ita, simulatione iræ, ‘vinciri’ jussum, et ‘majores poenas daturum’ adfirmans, præsentī exitio subtraxit.

XLVI. Omnia deinde arbitrio militum acta. Prætorii Præfectos sibi ipsi legere : Plotium Firmum, e manipularibus quondam, tum vigilibus præpositum, et, incolumi adhuc Galba, partes Othonis secutum : adjungitur Licinius Proculus, intima familiaritate Othonis, suspectus, consilia ejus fovisse. Urbi Flavium Sabinum præfecere, judicium Neronis secuti, sub quo eandem curam obtinuerat : plerisque Vespasianum fratrem in eo respicientibus. Flagitatum, ‘ut vacationes, (v) præstari Centurionibus solitæ, remitterentur.’ Namque gregarius miles, ut tributum annuum, pendebat. Quarta pars manipuli sparsa per commeatus, aut in ipsis castris vaga, dum mercedem Centurioni exsolveret ; neque modum oneris quisquam, neque genus quæstus pensi habebat : per latrocinia et raptus, aut servilibus ministris

v *Vacationes* were the fees exacted by the centurions for occasional exemptions from duty, and for leave of absence.

riis, militare otium redimebant. Tum locupletissimus quisque miles labore ac sævitia fatigari, donec vacationem emeret: ubi, sumptibus exhaustus, socordia insuper elanguerat, inops pro locuplete et iners pro strenuo, in manipulam redibat: ac rursus alius atque alius, eadem egestate ac licentia conrupti, ad seditiones et discordias, et ad extremum in bella civilia ruebant. Sed Otho, ne vulgi largitione Centurionum animos averteret, 'fiscum suum vacationes annuas 'exsoluturum,' promisit: rem haud dubie utilem, et a bonis postea Principibus perpetuitate disciplinæ firmatam. Laco Præfectus, tamquam in insulam seponeretur, ab Evocato, quem ad cædem ejus Otho præmiserat, confossus: in Martianum Icelum, ut in libertinum, palam animadversum.

XLVII. Exacto per scelera die, novissimum malorum fuit lætitia. Vocat Senatum Prætor urbanus: (w) certant adulationibus ceteri Magistratus. Adcurrunt Patres: decernitur Othoni 'Tribunicia potestas ac nomen Augusti et omnes Principum honores,' adnitentibus cunctis abolere convicia ac probra, quæ, promiscue jactu, hæsisse animo ejus, nemo sensit: omisisset offensas, an distulisset, brevitate imperii in incerto fuit. Otho, cruento adhuc foro, per stragem jacentium, in capitolium, atque inde in palatium vectus, concedi corpora sepulturæ, cremarique permisit. Pisonem Verania uxor, ac frater Scribonianus, T. Vinium Crispina filia, composuere, quæsitis redemptisque capitibus, (x) quæ venalia interfectores servaverant.

XLVIII. Piso unum et tricesimum ætatis annum explebat, fama meliore, quam fortuna. Fratres ejus, Magnum Claudius, Crassum Nero interfecerant. Ipse diu exsul, quadriduo Cæsar, properata adoptione ad hoc tantum majori fratri prælatus est, ut prior occideretur. T. Vinium quinquaginta septem annos variis motibus egit. Pater illi e Prætoria familia, maturnus avus e proscriptis. Prima militia infamis, Legatum Calvisium Sabinum habuerat: cujus uxor, mala cupidine visendi situm castrorum, per noctem militari habitu ingressa, cum vigilias et cetera militiæ munia

w The two consuls, Galba and Vinium, being cut off, the power of convening the senate devolved upon the city prætor. See Cicero's Epistles, book x. epist. 12.

x Crispina, the daughter of Vinium bought her father's head, at an enormous price, from the hands of assassins. See Plutarch's life of Galba.

eadem lascivia tentasset, in ipsis principiis (*y*) stuprum ausa: et criminis hujus reus T. Vinus arguebatur. Igitur jussu C. Cæsaris, oneratus catenis, mox, mutatione temporum, dimissus, cursu honorum inoffenso, legioni post Præturam præpositus probatusque: servili deinceps probro respersus est, tamquam scyphum aureum in convivio Claudii furatus: et Claudius postera die soli omnium Vinio fictilibus ministrari jussit. Sed Vinus Proconsulatu Galliam Narbonensem (*z*) severe integreque rexit: mox Galbæ amicitia in abruptum tractus, audax, callidus, promptus et, prout animum intendisset, pravus aut industrius, eadem vi. Testamentum T. Vinii, magnitudine opum, inritum: Pisonis supremam voluntatem paupertas firmavit.

XLIX. Galbæ corpus diu neglectum et licentia tenebrarum plurimis ludibriis vexatum, dispensator Argius, (*a*) e prioribus servis, humili sepultura in privatis ejus hortis contextit. Caput, per lixas calonesque suffixum laceratumque, ante Patrobii tumulum (libertus is Neronis, punitus a Galba fuerat) postera demum die repertum et cremato jam corpori admixtum est. Hunc exitum habuit Ser. Galba, tribus et septuaginta annis quinque Principes prospera fortuna emensus, et alieno Imperio felicior, quam suo. Vetus in familia nobilitas, magnæ opes: ipsi medium ingenium, magis extravitæ, quam cum virtutibus. Famæ nec incuriosus, nec vendicator. Pecuniæ alienæ non adpetens, suæ parcus, publicæ avarus. Amicorum libertorumque, ubi in bonos incidisset, sine reprehensione patiens: si mali forent, usque ad culpam ignarus. (*b*) Sed claritas natalium et metus temporum obtentui, ut, quod segnitia erat, sapientia vocaretur. Dum vigeat ætas, militari laude apud Germanias floruit. Pro consule Africam moderatè: jam senior, citiorem Hispaniam pari justitia continuit: major privato visus, dum privatus fuit, et omnium consensu capax Imperii, nisi imperasset.

*y* The *principia* was a broad open space, extending the whole breadth of the camp, where the tribunal of the general was erected; where the Tribunes held their courts, and punishments were inflicted; and where the principal standards of the army and the altars of the gods stood; hence it was considered sacred.

*z* *Gallia Narbonensis*, now Languedoc, Dauphiny and Provence.

*a* *Dispensator*, etc. Argius, one of his former slaves and his steward.

*b* *Si mali*, etc. Literally, if they were bad, he was ignorant to a fault: or, when bad men surrounded him, his good nature bordered on folly.



L. Trepidam urbem, ac simul atrocitatem, recentis sceleris, simul veteres Othonis mores paventem, novus insuper ‘de Vitellio’ nuntius exterruit, ante cædem Galbæ suppressus, ut, tantum superioris Germaniæ exercitum descivisse, crederetur. Tum ‘duos, omnium mortalium in-  
 ‘pudicitia, ignavia, luxuria deterrimos, velut ad perden-  
 ‘dum Imperium fataliter electos,’ non Senatus modo et Eques, quis aliqua pars et cura Reipublicæ, sed vulgus quoque palam moerere. Nec jam recentia sævæ pacis exempla, sed repetita bellorum civilium memoria; ‘captam  
 ‘totiens suis exercitibus urbem, vastitatem Italiæ, direptiones provinciarum, Pharsaliam, Philippos et Perusiam ac  
 ‘Mutinam’, (c) nota publicarum cladum nomina, loquebantur.  
 ‘Prope eversum orbem, etiam cum de Principatu inter bonos certaretur: sed mansisse C. Iuli, mansisse Cæsare  
 ‘Augusto victore Imperium: mansurum fuisse, sub Pompeio Brutoque, Rempublicam. Nunc pro Othone, an pro  
 ‘Vitellio, in templa ituros? Utrasque impias preces,  
 ‘utraq; detestanda vota, inter duos, quorum bello solum  
 ‘id scires, deteriore fore, qui vicisset.’ Erant, qui Vespasianum et arma Orientis augurarentur: et, ut potior utroque Vespasianus, ita bellum aliud atque alias clades horrebant. Et ambigua de Vespasiano fama; (d) solusque omnium ante se Principum in melius mutatus est.

LI. Nunc initia caussasque motus Vitelliani expediam. Cæso cum omnibus copiis Julio Vindice, ferox præda gloriæque exercitus, ut cui sine labore ac periculo ditissimi belli victoria evenisset, expeditionem quam otium, præmia (e) quam stipendia malebat. Diu infructuosam et asperam militiam toleraverant, ingenio loci cælique et severitate disciplinæ; quam, in pace inexorabilem, discordiæ civium resolvunt, paratis utrimque corruptoribus et perfidia impunita. Viri, arma, equi, ad usum et ad decus, supererant; sed ante bellum centurias tantum suas turmasque noverant: exercitus finibus provinciarum discernebantur. tum adversus Vindicem contractæ legiones, seque et Gallias expertæ, quærere rursus arma, novasque discordias:

c The battle of Pharsalia was A. U. C. 706; that of Mutina, 711, and the siege of Perugia, 714.

d Vespasian, in the reign of Caligula, was a time-serving flatterer; and, being afterwards overwhelmed with debts, was a man of an equivocal character.

e Præmia—Plunder, in which sense it is frequently used.



nec 'socios,' ut olim sed 'hostes, et victos' vocabant. Nec deerat pars Galliarum, quæ Rhenum accolit, easdem partes secuta, ac tum acerrima instigatrix adversus 'Galbianos : ' hoc enim nomen, fastidito Vindice, indiderant. Igitur Sequanis Æduisque ac deinde, prout opulentia civitatibus erat, infensi, expugnationes urbium, populationes agrorum, raptus penatium hauserunt animo : super avaritiam et adrogantiam, præcipua validiorum vitia, contumacia Gallorum inritati, qui, 'remissam sibi a Galba quartam tributorum' partem : eos publice donatos, (f) in ignominiam exercitus,' jactabant. Accessit callide vulgatum, temere creditum, 'decumari legiones et promptissimum quemque Centurionum dimitti : ' undique atroces nuntii, sinistra ex urbe fama ; infensa Lugdunensis colonia, et, pertinaci pro Nerone fide, fecunda rumoribus. Sed plurima ad fingendum credendumque materies in ipsis castris, odio, metu, et, ubi vires suas respexerant, securitate.

LII. Sub ipsas superioris anni Kal. Decembres Aulus Vitellius, inferiorem Germaniam ingressus, hiberna legionum cum cura adierat, redditu plerisque ordines, remissa ignominia, adlevatæ notæ : plura ambitione, quædam judicio : in quibus sordem et avaritiam Fonteii Capitonis, adimendis adsignandisve militiæ ordinibus, integre mutaverat. Nec Consularis Legati mensura, sed in majus omnia accipiebantur. Et Vitellius apud severos humilis. Id comitatem bonitatemque faventes vocabant, quod sine modo, sine judicio donaret sua, largiretur aliena. simul aviditate imperandi : (g) ipsa vitia pro virtutibus interpretabantur multi in utroque exercitu sicut modesti quietique, ita mali et strenui. Sed profusa cupidine et insigni temeritate Legati legionum, Alienus Cæcina et Fabius Valens : e quibus Valens, infensus Galbæ, tamquam detectam a se Verginii cunctationem, oppressa Capitonis consilia ingratis tulisset, instigare Vitellium, 'ardorem militum' ostentans. 'Ipsam celebri' ubique fama : nullam in Flacco Hordeonio moram : adfore Britanniam : secutura Germanorum auxilia : male fidas provincias : precarium seni Imperium et brevi transiturum : panderet modo sinum et venienti Fortunæ oc-

f *Publice donatos, i. e.* with the territories which Galba had taken from the Gallic States.

g *Aviditate imperandi.* The gerund is used passively ; they desired to be governed by him.

‘curreret. Merito dubitasse Verginium, Equestri familia, ignoto patre: inparem, si recepisset Imperium, tutum, si recusasset. Vitellio tres patris Consulatus, Censuram, conlegium Cæsaris, imponere jampridem Imperatoris dignationem, auferri privati securitatem.’

LIII. Quatiebatur his segne ingenium, ut concupisceret magis, quam ut speraret. At in superiore Germania, Cæcina, decora juventa, corpore ingens, animi immodicus, scito sermone, erecto incessu, studia militum inllexerat. Hunc juvenem Galba, Quæstorem in Bætica, impigre in partes suas transgressum, legioni præposuit: mox comperit, publicam pecuniam avertisse, ut peculatorem flagitari jussit. Cæcina ægre passus, miscere cuncta et privata vulnera Reipublicæ malis operire statuit. Nec deerant in exercitu semina discordiæ: quod et bello adversus Vindicem universus adfuerat, nec, nisi occiso Nerone, translatus in Galbam, atque in eo ipso sacramento vexillis inferioris Germaniæ præventus erat. Et Treveri at Lingones, quasque alias civitates atrocibus edictis aut damno finium Galba perculerat, hibernis legionum propius miscentur. Unde seditiosa conloquia, et inter paganos corruptior miles, et in Verginium favor, cuicumque alii profuturus.

LIV. Miserat civitas Lingonum, vetere instituto, dona legionibus, dextras, hospitii insigne. (*h*) Legati eorum, in squalorem mæstitiamque compositi, per principia, per contubernia, modo ‘suas injurias,’ modo ‘civitatum vicinarum præmia,’ et, ubi pronis militum auribus accipiebantur, ‘ipsius exercitus pericula et contumelias’ conquerentes, accendebant animos. Nec procul seditione aberant, cum Hordeonius Flaccus ‘abire Legatos,’ utque occultior digressus esset, ‘nocte castris excedere’ jubet. Inde atrox rumor, adfirmantibus plerisque, ‘interfectos, ac, nisi ipsi consulerent, fore, ut acerrimi militum, et præsentia con-questi, per tenebras et inscitiam ceterorum occiderentur.’ Obstringuntur inter se tacito fœdere legiones. Adsciscitur auxiliorum miles; primo suspectus, tamquam, circumdatis cohortibus alisque, inpetus in legiones pararetur, mox eadem acrius volvens: faciliore inter malos consensu ad bellum, quam in pace ad concordiam.

*h Miserat, etc.* The Lingones, in token of friendship, had sent presents to the legions, and, in conformity to their ancient usage, the symbolical figure of two right hands clasping one another.

LV. Inferioris tamen Germaniæ legiones solemnī Kalend. Januariarum sacramento pro Galba adactæ, multa cunctatione et raris primorum ordinum vocibus : ceteri silentio proximi cujusque audaciam expectantes : insita mortalibus natura, propere sequi, quæ piget inchoare. Sed ipsis legionibus inerat diversitas animorum. Primani quintanique turbidi adeo, ut quidam saxa in Galbæ imagines jecerint : quintadecima ac sextadecima legiones, nihil ultra fremitum et minas ausæ, initium erumpendi circumspectabant. At in superiori, quarta ac duodevicesima legiones, iisdem hibernis tendentes, ipso Kalend. Januariarum die, dirumpunt imagines Galbæ : quarta legio promptius, duodevicesima cunctanter, mox consensu. Ac, ne reverentiam Imperii exuere viderentur, Senatus Populique Romani oblitterata jam nomina sacramento advocabant : nullo Legatorum Tribunorumve pro Galba nitente, quibusdam, ut in tumultu, notabilibus turbantibus. Non tamen quisquam in modum concionis e suggestu locutus : neque enim erat adhuc, cui imputaretur. (*i*)

LVI. Spectator flagitii Hordeonius Flaccus, Consularis Legatus, aderat non compescere ruentes, non retinere dubios, non cohortari bonos ausus : sed segnis, pavidus et scordia innocens. Quatuor Centuriones duodevicesimæ legionis, Nonius Receptus, Donatius Valens, Romilius Marcellus, Calpurnius Repentinus, cum protegerent Galbæ imagines, inpetu militum abrepti vinctique. Nec cuiquam ultra fides aut memoria prioris sacamenti : sed, quod in seditionibus accidit, unde plures erant, omnes fuere. Nocte, quæ Kal. Januarias secuta est, in coloniam Agrippensem (*j*) aquilifer quartæ legionis epulanti Vitellio nunciat, 'quartam et duodevicesimam legiones, projectis Galbæ imaginibus, in Senatus et Populi Rom. verba jurasse.' Id sacramentum inane visum : 'occupari nutantem Fortunam 'et offerri Principem,' placuit. Missi a Vitellio ad legiones Legatosque, qui 'descivisse a Galba superiorem exercitum,' nunciarent : 'proinde aut bellandum adversus desciscentes,

*i* Non tamen, etc. No man took upon him to harangue the multitude, no orator ascended the tribunal, for they could not tell in whose service their eloquence was to be employed.

*j* Agrippinensis colonia ; so called from Agrippina, the daughter of Germanicus, mother of Nero, and afterwards wife of the Emperor Claudius. This place is now called Cologne, situated on the Rhine.



‘ aut, si concordia et pax placeat, faciendum Imperatorem :  
 ‘ et minore discrimine sumi Principem, quam quæri.

LVII. Proxima legionis primæ hiberna erant, et promptissimus e Legatis Fabius Valens. Is die postero coloniam Agrippinensem cum equitibus legionis auxiliariorumque ingressus, ‘ Imperatorem’ Vitellium consalutavit. Secutæ ingenti certamine ejusdem provinciæ legiones : et superior exercitus, speciosis Senatus populique Romani nominibus relictis, tertium Nonas Januarias Vitellio accessit : scires illum priore biduo non penes Rempublicam fuisse. Ardorem exercituum Agrippinenses, Treveri, Lingones æquabant, ‘ auxilia, equos, arma, pecunias’ offerentes, ut quisque corpore, opibus, ingenio validus. Nec principes modo coloniarum aut castrorum, quibus præsentia ex adfluente et parta victoria magnæ spes : sed manipuli quoque et gregarius miles viatica sua et balteos phalerasque, insignia armorum argento decora, loco pecuniæ tradebant ; instinctu et impetu et avaritia. (*k*)

LVIII. Igitur, laudata militum alacritate, Vitellius, ministeria Principatus, per libertos agi solita, in Equites Romanos disponit : vacationes Centurionibus ex fisco numerat : sævitiam militum, plerosque ad poenam exposcentium, sæpius adprobat, partim simulatione vinculorum frustratur. Pompeius Propinquus, Procurator Belgiæ, statim interfec-tus. Julium Burdonem, Germaniæ classis Præfectum, astu subtraxit. Exarserat in eum iracundia exercitus, tamquam crimen ac mox insidias Fonteio Capitoni struxisset. Grata erat memoria Capitonis : et apud sævientes occidere palam, ignoscere non nisi fallendo, licebat. Ita in custodia habitus : et post victoriam demum, stratis jam militum odiis, dimissus est. Interim, ut piaculum, objicitur Centurio Crispinus, qui se sanguine Capitonis cruentaverat : eoque et postulantibus manifestior et punienti vilior fuit.

LIX. Julius deinde Civilis periculo exemptus, præpotens inter Batavos, ne supplicio ejus ferox gens alienaretur. Et erant in civitate Lingonum octo Batavorum cohortes, quartædecimæ legionis auxilia, tum discordia temporum a legione digressæ, prout inclinassent, grande momentum sociæ aut adversæ. Nonium, Donatium, Romilium, Calpurnium,

*k Instinctu, etc.* Some did it *impetu*, i. e. at the instigation of others ; some *instinctu*, from a natural impulse ; and some *avaritia*, with the hope of receiving again more than they had given :

Centuriones, de quibus supra retulimus, occidi jussit, damnatos fidei crimine, gravissimo inter desciscentes. Accessere partibus Valerius Asiaticus, Belgicæ provinciæ Legatus, quem mox Vitellius generum adscivit: et Junius Blæsus, Lugdunensis Galliæ rector, cum Italica legione et ala Taurina, Lugduni tendentibus. (l) Nec in Rhæticiis copiis mora, quo minus statim adjungerentur. Ne in Britannia quidem dubitatum.

LX. Præerat Trebellius Maximus, per avaritiam ac sordes contemptus exercitui invisusque. Accendebat odium ejus Roscius Cælius, Legatus vicesimæ legionis, olim discors, sed occasione civilium armorum atrocius proruperat. Trebellius 'seditionem et confusum ordinem disciplinæ' Cælio; 'spoliatas et inopes legiones' Cælius Trebellio objectabat: cum interim fœdis Legatorum certaminibus modestia exercitus corrupta, eoque discordiæ ventum, ut auxiliarium quoque militum conviciis proturbatus, et, aggregantibus se Cælio cohortibus alisque, desertus Trebellius ad Vitellium perfugerit: quies provinciæ, quamquam remoto Consulari, mansit: rexere Legati legionum; pares jure, Cælius audendo potentior.

LXI. Adjuncto Britannico exercitu, ingens viribus opibusque Vitellius, duos Duces, duo itinera bello destinavit. Fabius Valens 'adlicere, vel, si abnuerent, vastare Gallias, et Cottianis Alpibus Italiam inrumpere:' Cæcina 'propio-re transitu, Peninis jugis degredi' jussus. Valenti inferioris exercitus electi, cum aquila quintæ legionis et cohortibus alisque, ad quadraginta millia armatorum data: triginta millia Cæcina e superiore Germania ducebat, quorum robur legio una, prima et vicesima, fuit: addita utrique Germanorum auxilia, e quibus Vitellius suas quoque copias supplevit, tota mole belli secuturus.

LXII. Mira inter exercitum Imperatoremque diversitas. Instare miles, arma poscere, 'dum Galliæ trepident, dum Hispaniæ cunctentur: non obstare hiemem neque ignavæ pacis moras: invadendam Italiam, occupandam urbem: nihil in discordiis civilibus festinatione tutius, ubi facto magis, quam consulto opus esset.' Torpebat Vitellius, et fortunam Principatus inertī luxu ac prodigis epulis præ-

l The Taurinian squadron was so called from the Taurini, or people of Turin. *Lugdunum*, a city of ancient Gaul, now Lyons.

sumebat, medio diei temulentus et sagina gravis : (*m*) cum tamen ardor et vis militum ultro Ducis munia inplebat, ut si adesset Imperator, et strenuis, vel ignavis spem metumque adderet. Instructi intentique 'signum profectionis' exposcunt. Nomen 'Germanici' Vitellio statim additum : 'Cæsarem' se appellari etiam victor prohibuit. (*n*) Lætum augurium Fabio Valenti exercituique, quem in bellum agebat, ipso profectionis die, aquila leni meatu, prout agmen incederet, velut dux viæ, prævolavit : longumque per spatium is gaudentium militum clamor, ea quies interritæ alitis fuit, ut haud dubium magnæ et prosperæ rei omen acciperetur. Et Treveros quidem, ut socios, securi adiere.

LXIII. Divoduri (Mediomatricorum id oppidum est) (*o*) quamquam omni comitate exceptos subitus pavor exterruit, raptis repente armis ad cædem innoxie civitatis : non ob prædam aut spoliandi cupidine, sed furore et rabie et causis incertis, eoque difficilioribus remediis ; donec, precibus Ducis mitigati, ab excidio civitatis temperare : cæsa tamen ad quatuor millia hominum. Isque terror Gallias invasit, ut venienti mox agmini universæ civitates cum Magistratibus et precibus occurrerent, stratis per vias pueris feminisque ; quæque alia placamenta (*p*) hostilis iræ, non quidem in bello, sed pro pace, tendebantur.

LXIV. Nuntium de cæde Galbæ et Imperio Othonis, Fabius Valens in civitate Leucorum accepit. Nec militum animus in gaudium aut formidinem permotus : bellum volebat. Gallis cunctatio exempta, et in Othonem ac Vitellium odium par, ex Vitellio et metus. Proxima Lingonum civitas erat, fida partibus : benigne excepti, modestia certavere ; sed brevis lætitia fuit, cohortium intemperie, quas, a legione quartadecima, ut supra memoravimus, digressas, exercitui suo Fabius Valens adjunxerat. Jurgia

*m* For an account of the sloth, drunkenness, and other vices of Vitellius, see Suetonius, in Vitel. s. 17.

*n* *Cæsarem se appellari*—*prohibuit* ; still he assumed this name himself. See Hist. 3. 58.

*o* The Treveri were the inhabitants of a city of lower Germany, on the Moselle : now called Treves. *Mediomatrici*, a people of Gallia Belgica ; now the diocese of Mentz.

*p* *Placamenta, etc.* Olive branches and sacred vestments were usually displayed in cases of distress, when the conquered sued for mercy, and though nothing like hostility subsisted, this people was obliged, in profound peace, to deprecate all the horrors of war.



primum: mox rixa (*q*) inter Batavos et legionarios, dum his aut illis studiâ militum adgregantur, prope in prælium exarsere; ni Valens animadversione paucorum oblitus jam Batavos imperii admonuisset. Frustra adversus Æduos quæsitâ belli caussa: jussi 'pecuniam atque arma deferre,' gratuitos insuper commeatus præbuere: quod Ædúi formidine, (*r*) Lugdunenses gaudio fecere. Sed legio Italica et ala Taurina abductæ. Cohortem duodevicesimam Lugduni, solitis sibi hibernis, relinqui placuit. Manlius Valens, Legatus Italicæ legionis, quamquam bene de partibus meritis, nullo apud Vitellium honore fuit: secretis eum criminationibus infamaverat Fabius ignarum et, quo incautior deciperetur, palam laudatum.

LXV. Veterem inter Lugdunenses Viennensesque (*s*) discordiam proximum bellum accenderat: multæ invicem clades, crebrius infestiusque, quam ut tantum propter Neronem Galbamque pugnaretur. Et Galba reditus Lugdunensium, occasione iræ, in fiscum verterat: (*t*) multus contra in Viennenses honor; unde æmulatio et invidia et uno amne discretis (*u*) connexum odium. Igitur Lugdunenses exstimulare singulos militum, et in eversionem Viennensium impellere, 'obsessam ab illis coloniam suam, 'adjutos Vindicis conatus, conscriptas nuper legiones in 'præsidium Galbæ' referendo: et, ubi causas odiorum prætenderant, magnitudinem prædæ ostendebant. Nec jam secreta exhortatio, sed publicæ preces: 'Irent ultores, excinderent sedem Gallici belli: cuncta illic externa et hostilia: se coloniam Romanam (*v*) et partem 'exercitus et prosperarum adversarumque rerum socios: 'si fortuna contra daret, iratis ne relinquerentur.'

LXVI. His et pluribus in eundem modum, perpulerant,

*q* *Jurgia*, disputes or opprobrious words; *rixâ*, quarrels.

*r* *Ædúi formidine*. Because they had favoured Galba. *Lugdunenses gaudio*, because they had been opposed to both Galba and Vindex.

*s* *Viennenses*, the inhabitants of Vienne, a city of Narbonese Gaul; now *Vienne Dauphine*.

*t* The people of Lyons waged war against Vindex, and on that account Galba made them feel his resentment.

*u* The cities of Lyons and Vienne were separated by the river Rhodanus; now the Rhone.

*v* *Se coloniam Romanam*. *i. e.* worthy of the name; for Vienne was also a Roman colony, but there, *cuncta externa et hostilia*; consequently they had forfeited their claims to this name;

ut ne Legati quidem, ac Duces partium restingui posse irasundiam exercitus arbitrarentur: cum haud ignari discriminis sui Viennenses, velamenta et infulas præferentes, ubi agmen incesserat, arma, genua, vestigia prensando, flexere militum animos. Addidit Valens trecenos singulis militibus sestertios: tum vetustas dignitasque coloniæ valuit, et verba Fabii, salutem incolumitatemque Viennensium commendantis, æquis auribus accepta: publice tamen armis mulctanti, privatis et promiscuis copiis juvere militem. Sed fama constans fuit, 'ipsum Valentem magna pecunia emptum.' Is diu sordidus, repente dives, mutationem fortunæ male tegebat, accensis egestate longa cupidinibus inmoderatus, et, inopi juventa, senex prodigus. Lento deinde agmine, per fines Allobrogum (w) et Vocontiorum ductus exercitus: ipsa itinerum spatia et stativorum mutationes venditante Duce, fœdis pactionibus adversus possessores agrorum et Magistratus civitatum, adeo minaciter, ut Luco (municipium id Vocontiorum est) faces admoverit, donec pecunia mitigaretur: quotiens pecuniæ materia deesset, stupris et adulteriis exorabatur. Sic ad Alpes perventum.

LXVII. Plus prædæ ac sanguinis Cæcina hausit. Inritaverant turbidum ingenium Helvetii (x) Gallica gens, olim armis virisque, mox memoria nominis clara, de cæde Galbæ ignari, et Vitellii imperium abnuentes. Initium bello fuit avaritia ac festinatio unaetvicesimæ legionis: rapuerant pecuniam, missam in stipendium castelli; quod olim Helvetii suis militibus ac stipendiis tuebantur: ægre id passi Helvetii, interceptis epistolis, quæ nomine Germanici exercitus ad Pannonicas legiones ferebantur, Centurionem et quosdam militum in custodia retinebant. Cæcina, belli avidus, proximam quamque culpam, antequam pæni-teret, ultum ibat: mota propere castra: vastati agri: direptus longa pace in modum municipii exstructus locus, (y) amœno salubrium aquarum usu frequens: missi ad Rhæ-

w *Allobroges*, a people of Narbon Gaul, situated between the Rhone and Lake Leman.

x The territory of the Helvetii was a part of Celtic Gaul, more extensive than what is now called Switzerland. The people were celebrated for their bravery. See Cæsar, *Bell. Gall. Lib. 1. s. 1.*

y Brotier says, this place was called in ancient inscriptions, *Res-publica æquensis*, on account of the salubrity of its waters. Now Baden, in the territory of Switzerland.

tica auxilia nuntii, ut versos in legionem Helvetios a tergo adgrederentur.

LXVIII. Illi, ante discrimen feroces, in periculo pavidī, quamquam primo tumultu Claudium Severum Ducem legerant, non arma noscere, non ordines sequi, non in unum consulere: exitiosum adversus veteranos (z) prælium, intuta obsidio, dilapsis vetustate mœnibus: hinc Cæcina cum valido exercitu; inde Rhæticae alæ cohortesque et ipsorum Rhætorum juvenus, sueta armis et more militiæ exercita: undique populatio et cædes: ipsi in medio vagi, abjectis armis, magna pars saucii aut palantes, in montem Vocetium (a) perfugere. Ac statim, inmissa cohorte Thracum, depulsi, et, consectantibus Germanicis Rhætisque, per silvas atque in ipsis latebris trucidati: multa hominum millia cæsa, multa sub corona venundata. Cumque, dirutis omnibus, Aventicum, (b) gentis caput, justo agmine peteretur, missi, qui dederent civitatem: et deditio accepta. In Julium Alpinum, e principibus, ut concitorem belli, Cæcina animadvertit: ceteros veniæ vel sævitiae Vitellii reliquit.

LXIX. Haud facile dictu est, legati Helvetiorum minus placabilem Imperatorem, an militem invenerint: 'civitas excidium' poscunt, tela ac manus in ora Legatorum intentant. Ne Vitellius quidem minis ac verbis temperabat: cum Claudius Cossus, unus ex Legatis, notæ facundia, sed dicendi artem apta trepidatione occultans atque eo validior, militis animum mitigavit: ut est mox vulgus mutabile subitis et tam primum in misericordiam, quam immodicum sævitia fuerat: effusis lacrimis, et meliora constantius postulando, impunitatem salutemque civitati impetrare.

LXX. Cæcina paucos in Helvetiis moratus dies, dum sententiæ Vitellii certior fieret, simul transitum Alpium parans, lætum ex Italia nuntium accipit, 'alam Silanam,

z *Veterani* usually signifies those soldiers, who, having served sixteen campaigns, were exempt from all military duty except fighting. In this passage it is synonymous with the English word veterans.

a *Vocetium*. *Mons Vocetius*, a mountain of the Helvetii, thought to be the roughest part of mount Jura.

b *Aventicum*, the capital of the Helvetii; by the Germans called Wiflisburg, by the French Avenches.



‘circa Padum agentem, (c) sacramento Vitellii accessisse.’ Proconsulem Vitellium Syllani in Africa habuerant : mox a Nerone, ut in Ægyptum præmitterentur, exciti, et ob bellum Vindicis revocati, ac tum in Italia manentes, instinctu Decurionum, qui Othonis ignari, Vitellio obstricti, robur adventantium legionum et famam Germanici exercitus adtollebant, transiere in partes : et, ut donum aliquod novo Principi, firmissima Transpadanæ regionis municipia Mediolanum ac Novariam et Eporediam ac Vercellas, (d) adjungere : id Cæcinæ per ipsos compertum. Et, quia præsidio alæ unius latissima pars Italiæ defendi nequibat, præmissis Gallorum Lusitanorum Britannorumque cohortibus et Germanorum vexillis, cum ala Petrina, ipse paullulum cunctatus, num Rhæticis jugis in Noricum flecteret, adversus Petronium, (urbis) Procuratorem, qui concitis auxiliis, et interruptis fluminum pontibus, fidus Othoni putabatur. Sed metu, ne amitteret præmissas jam cohortes alasque, simul reputans, plus gloriæ retenta Italia, et, ubicumque certatum foret, Noricos in cetera victoriæ præmia cessuros, Penino subsignatum militem itinere, (e) et grave legionum agmen hibernis adhuc Alpibus traduxit.

LXXI. Otho interim, contra spem omnium, non deliciis, neque desidia torpescere : dilatæ voluptates, dissimulata luxuria, et cuncta ad decorum Imperii composita : eoque plus formidinis adferebant falsæ virtutes et vitia reditura. Marium Celsum, Consulem designatum, per speciem vinculorum, (f) sævitiae militum subtractum, acciri in capitolum jubet : clementiæ titulus e viro claro, et partibus

c The *Ala Syllana* was a body of cavalry, originally raised by Sylla. The *Padus*, a river in the north of Italy, runs from west to east, and discharges itself into the Adriatic. It is now called the Po.

d *Mediolanum*, now Milan, in Italy. *Novaria*, now Novara, a city of Milan. *Eporedia*, a town at the foot of the Alps, now Iura, a city of Piedmont. *Vercellæ*, now Vercelli, in Piedmont.

e The *Subsignanus Miles*, mentioned in this passage, means the soldier who fought under the colours, *Vexilla*, and not under the Eagles. The auxiliaries, the veterans detained in service, and the men drafted from the legions were of this description.

f Otho, to appease the fury of the soldiers, had thrown Marius Celsus into prison. At that time, he could instigate the soldiers to perpetrate any atrocious deed, but to restrain them was hardly in his power.

inviso, petebatur. Celsus, constanter servatæ erga Galbam fidei crimen confessus, exemplum ultro inputavit. (g) Nec Otho, quasi ignosceret, sed, ne hostis metum reconciliationis adhiberet, statim inter intimos amicos habuit, et mox bello inter Duces delegit: mansitque Celso, velut fataliter, etiam pro Othone fides integra et infelix. Læta primoribus civitatis, celebrata in vulgus Celsi salus, ne militibus quidem ingrata fuit, eandem virtutem admirantibus, cui irascebantur.

LXXII. Par inde exsultatio disparibus caussis consecuta, impetrata Tigellini exitio. Sophonius Tigellinus, obscuris parentibus, fœda pueritia, impudica senecta, Præfecturam vigilum et Prætorii et alia præmia virtutum quia velocius erat vitiis adeptus, crudelitatem mox, deinde avaritiam et virilia scelera exercuit, corrupto ad omne facinus Nerone; quædam ignaro ausus, ac postremo ejusdem desertor ac proditor. Unde non alium pertinacius ad pœnam flagitare, diverso adfectu, quibus odium Neronis inerat, et quibus desiderium. Apud Galbam T. Vinii potentia defensus, prætexentis, 'servatam ab eo filiam:' et haud dubie servaverat, non clementia, quippe tot interfectis, sed effugio in futurum: quia pessimus quisque, diffidentia præsentium mutationem pavens, adversus publicum odium privatam gratiam præparat: unde nulla innocentiae cura, sed vices impunitatis. Eo infensior populus, addita ad vetus Tigellini odium recenti T. Vinii invidia: concurrere e tota urbe in palatium ac fora, et, ubi plurima vulgi licentia, in circum ac theatra effusi, seditiosis vocibus obstrepere: donec Tigellinus, accepto apud Sinuessanas (h) aquas supremæ necessitatis nuntio, inter stupra concubinarum et oscula et deformes moras, sectis novacula faucibus, infamem vitam fœclavit etiam exitu fero et inhonesto.

LXXIII. Per idem tempus expostulata ad supplicium Calvia Crispinilla variis frustrationibus, et adversa dissimulantis Principis fama, periculo exempta est: magistra libidinum Neronis, transgressa in Africam, ad instigandum (i) in arma Clodium Macrum, famem populo Rom: haud obscure

g *Exemplum ultro inputavit.* Celsus acknowledged his fidelity to Galba, and on this account justified himself to Otho, whose interest it was to have faithful officers.

h *Sinuessæ*, a town of Latium, much frequented for the salubrity of its waters; now called *Garigliano*.

i *Ad instigandum, etc.* to revenge the death of Nero.

molita, totius postea civitatis gratiam obtinuit, Consulari matrimonio subnixa, et apud Galbam, Othonem, Vitellium inlæsa: mox potens pecunia et orbitate, quæ bonis malisque temporibus juxta valent.

LXXIV. Crebræ interim, et muliebribus blandimentis infectæ, ab Othone ad Vitellium epistolæ, offerebant ‘pecuniam et gratiam et quemcumque quietis locum prodigæ vitæ legisset.’ Paria Vitellius ostentabat, primo mollius, stulta utrimque et indecora simulatione: mox, quasi rixantes, stupra et flagitia invicem objectavere, neuter falso. Otho, revocatis, quos Galba miserat, legatis, rursus alios ad utrumque Germanicum exercitum et ad legionem Italicam easque, quæ Lugduni agebant, copias, specie senatus misit. Legati apud Vitellium remansere, promptius, quam ut retenti viderentur. Prætoriani, quos, per simulationem officii, legatis Otho adjunxerat, remissi, antequam legionibus miscerentur. Addit epistolas Fabius Valens, nomine Germanici exercitus, ad Prætorias et urbanas cohortes, de viribus partium magnificas et concordiam offerentes. Increpabat ultro, ‘quod tanto ante traditum Vitellio imperium ad Othonem vertissent.’

LXXV. Ita promissis simul ac minis tentabantur; ‘ut bello impares, in paci nihil amissuri:’ neque ideo Prætorianorum fides mutata. Sed insidiatores ab Othone in Germaniam, a Vitellio in urbem missi: utrisque frustra fuit: Vitellianis inpune, per tantam hominum multitudinem, mutua ignorantia fallentibus: Othoniani, novitate vultus, omnibus invicem ignaris, (*j*) prodebantur. Vitellius litteras ad Titianum, fratrem Othonis, composuit, ‘exitium ipsi filioque ejus,’ minitans, ‘ni incolumes sibi mater ac liberi servarentur.’ Et stetit domus utraque: sub Othone, incertum an metu: Vitellius victor clementiæ gloriam tulit.

LXXVI. Primus Othoni fiduciam addidit ex Illyrico nuntius, ‘jurasse in eum Dalmatiæ ac Pannoniæ et Mœsiæ legiones.’ Idem ex Hispania adlatum: laudatusque, per edictum Cluvius Rufus: et statim cognitum est, conversam ad Vitellium Hispaniam. Ne Aquitania quidem, quamquam a Julio Cordo in verba Othonis obstricta, diu mansit: nusquam fides aut amor; metu ac necessitate huc illuc muta-

*j* Omnibus invicem ignaris, neither knowing any one, or being known.



bantur. Eadem formido provinciam Narbonensem ad Vitellium vertit, facili transitu ad proximos et validiores. Longinquæ provinciæ, et quidquid armorum mari dirimitur, penes Othonem manebant: non partium studio; sed erat grande momentum in nomine urbis ac prætextu Senatus: et occupaverat animos prior auditus. Judaicum exercitum Vespasianus, Syriæ legiones Mucianus sacramento Othonis adegere. Simul Ægyptus omnesque versæ in Orientem provinciæ nomine ejus tenebantur. Idem Africæ obsequium, initio a Carthagine orto. Neque expectata Vipstani Aproniani, Proconsulis, auctoritate, Crescens, Neronis libertus (nam et hi malis temporibus partem se Reipublicæ faciunt) epulum plebi, ob lætitiā recentis Imperii, obtulerat, et populus pleraque sine modo festinavit. Carthaginem, ceteræ civitates secutæ.

LXXVII. Sic distractis exercitibus ac provinciis, Vitellio quidem ad capessendam Principatus fortunam bello opus erat. Otho, ut in multa pace, munia Imperii obibat; quædam ex dignitate Reipublicæ, pleraque contra decus ex præsentī usu properando. Consul cum Titiano fratre in Kalendas Martias ipse: (*k*) proximos menses Verginio destinat, ut aliquod exercitui Germanico delinimentum. Jungitur Verginio Poppæus Vopiscus, prætextu veteris amicitiae; plerique, Viennensium honori datum, interpretabantur. Ceteri Consulatus ex destinatione Neronis aut Galbæ mansere, Cælio aut Flavio Sabinis in Julias, Arrio Antoni-

*k* The number of Consuls in this eventful year was so great, that it will not be useless to place the list in one view before the eye of the reader:

<i>A. U. C. 822.</i>		<i>Consuls.</i>
On the Calends of January,	{	Galba,
Hist. i. s. 1.	{	Vinius.
Calends of March,	{	Salvius Otho,
Hist. i. s. 77.	{	Titianus Otho.
Calends of May,	{	Verginius Rufus,
Hist. i. s. 77.	{	Pompeius Vopiscus.
Calends of July,	{	Cælius Sabinus,
Hist. i. s. 77.	{	Flavius Sabinus.
Calends of September,	{	Arrius Antoninus,
Hist. i. s. 77.	{	Marcus Celsus.
Calends of November,	{	Fabius Valens,
Hist. ii. s. 1.	{	Alienus Cæcina.

Cæcina being pronounced a traitor by the Senate, on the day before the Calends of January, A. U. C. 823, the consul for a single day was Rosius Regulus. Hist. iii. s. 37.

no et Mario Celso in Septembres: quorum honori ne Vitellius quidem victor intercessit. Sed Otho Pontificatus Auguratusque honoratis jam senibus cumulum dignitatis (*l*) addidit: et recens ab exilio reversos nobiles adolescentulos avitis ac paternis Sacerdotiis, in solatium, recoluit. Redditus Cadio Rufo, Pedio Blæso, Sevino Pomtino Senatorius locus; repetundarum criminibus sub Claudio ac Nerone ceciderant: placuit ignoscentibus, verso nomine, quod avaritia fuerat, videri majestatem: cujus tum odio etiam bonæ leges peribant. (*m*)

LXXVIII. Eadem largitione civitatum quoque ac provinciarum animos adgressus, Hispaliensibus et Emeritensibus (*n*) familiarum adjectiones, Lingonibus universis civitatem Romanam, provinciæ Ræticiæ Maurorum civitates dono dedit: nova jura Cappadociæ, nova Africæ, ostentui magis, quam mansura. Inter quæ, necessitatē præsentium rerum et instantibus curis excusata, ne tum quidem inmemor amorum, statuas Poppææ per Senatus consultum reposuit. Creditus est etiam de celebranda Neronis memoria agitavisse, spe vulgum adliciendi: et fuere, qui imagines Neronis proponerent: atque etiam Othoni quibusdam diebus populus et miles, tamquam nobilitatem ac decus adstruerent, NERONI OTHONI adclamavit. Ipse in suspenso tenuit, vetandi metu, vel agnoscendi pudore.

LXXIX. Conversis ad civile bellum animis, externa sine cura habebantur. Eo audentius Rhoxolani, Sarmatica gens, (*o*) priore hieme cæsis duabus cohortibus, magna spe ad Mæsiā (*p*) inruperant: novem millia equitum, ferociora

*l Cumulum dignitatis.* These words are in apposition with *pontificatus* and *auguratus*.

*m* The idea here is this; the real offence was suppressed, and what was, in fact, public rapine, in the style of the pardon, took the name of violated majesty; a charge held in such detestation, that to elude it, the best and wisest laws were set aside.

*n* *Hispalis*, a town of Bœtica, in Farther Spain; now *Seville*. *Emerita*, a city of Spain; now *Merida*.

*o* *Sarmatia* called also *Scythia*, was a northern country of vast extent, and divided into *Europæa* and *Asiatica*; the former beginning at the Vistula, (its western boundary) and comprising Russia, part of Poland, Prussia and Lithuania; and the latter bounded on the west by *Sarmatia Europæa* and the Tanais (the *Don*) extending south as far as mount Caucasus and the Caspian Sea, containing Tartary, Circassia, &c.

*p* *Mæsia*, a district of ancient *Illyricum*; now called *Bulgaria*.

successu et prædæ magis quam pugnae intenta. Igitur vagos et incuriosos tertia legio, adjunctis auxiliis, repente invasit: apud Romanos omnia prælio apta: Sarmatæ, dispersi cupidine prædæ, aut graves onere sarcinarum, et ludibrio itinerum adempta equorum pernicitate, velut vincti cædebantur. Namque mirum dictu, ut sit omnis Sarmatarum virtus velut extra ipsos: nihil ad pedestrem pugnam tam ignavum: ubi per turmas advenere, vix ulla acies obstitit. Sed tum humido die et soluto gelu neque conti, neque gladii, quos prælongos utraque manu regunt, usui, lapsantibus equis et cataphractarum pondere. Id Principibus et nobilissimo cuique tegmen, ferreis laminis aut præduro corio consertum: ut adversus ictus inpenetrabile, ita inpetu hostium provolutis inhabile ad resurgendum: simul altitudine et mollitia nivis hauriebantur. Romanus miles facili lorica (*q*) et missili pilo aut lanceis adsultans, ubi res posceret, levi gladio inermem Sarmatam (neque enim defendi scuto mos est) cominus fodiebat: donec pauci, qui prælio superfuerant, paludibus abderentur: ibi sævitia hiemis et vi vulnerum absumpti. Postquam id Romæ compertum, M. Aponius Mœsiam obtinens, triumphali statua, Fulvius Aurelius et Julianus Titius ac Numisius Lupus, Legati legionum, consularibus ornamentis donantur: læto Othone et gloriam in se trahente, 'tamquam et ipse 'felix bello, et suis Ducibus suisque exercitibus Rempubli- cam auxisset.'

LXXX. Parvo interim initio, unde nihil timebatur, orta seditio prope urbi excidio fuit. Septimam decimam cohortem, e colonia Ostiensi in urbem acciri Otho jusserat: armandæ ejus cura Vario Crispino, Tribuno e Prætorianis, data. Is, quo magis vacuus, quietis castris, jussa exsequeretur, vehicula cohortis, incipiente nocte, onerari, aperto armamentario, jubet: tempus in suspicionem; caussa in crimen; (*r*) adfectatio quietis in tumultum evaluit: et visa inter temulentos arma cupidinem sui movere. Fremit miles, et Tribunos Centurionesque 'proditionis' arguit, 'tamquam familiæ Senatorum ad perniciem Othonis armarentur:' pars ignari et vino graves: pessimus quisque in occasionem prædarum: vulgus, ut mos est cujuscunque

*q* Facili lorica. Light breast plate.

*r* Causa in crimen. Crispinus told them that he took out the arms by order of the Emperor, to arm the cohort.



motus novi cupidum : et obsequia meliorum nox abstulerat : resistentem seditioni Tribunum et severissimos Centurionum obtruncant : rapta arma, nudati gladii, insidentes equis urbem ac palatium petunt.

LXXXI. Erat Othoni celebre convivium, primoribus feminis virisque : qui trepidi, fortuitusne militum furor, an dolus Imperatoris, manere ac deprehendi, an fugere ac dispergi, periculosius foret ; modo constantiam simulare, modo formidine detegi, simul Othonis vultum intueri : utque evenit, inclinatis ad suspicionem mentibus, cum timeret Otho, timebatur. Sed haud secus discrimine Senatus, quam suo territus, et Præfectos Prætorii ad mitigandas militum iras statim miserat, et ‘ abire propere omnes e convivio ’ jussit. Tum vero passim Magistratus, projectis insignibus, vitata comitum et servorum frequentia, senes feminæque, per tenebras, diversa urbis itinera, rari domos, plurimi amicorum tecta, et, ut cuique humillimus cliens, incertas latebras petivere.

LXXXII. Militum inpetus ne foribus quidem palatii coercitus, quo minus convivium inrumperent, ‘ ostendi sibi ‘ Othonem ’ expostulantes : vulnerato Julio Martiale, Tribuno, et Vitellio Saturnino, Præfecto legionis, dum ruentibus obsistunt. Undique arma et minæ, modo in Centuriones Tribunosque, modo in Senatum universum : lymphatis cæco pavore animis, et, quia neminem unum destinare iræ poterant, licentiam in omnes poscentibus : donec Otho, contra decus Imperii, thoro insistens, precibus et lacrymis ægre cohibuit : redieruntque in castra inviti, neque innocentes. Postera die, velut capta urbe, clausæ domus : rarus per vias populus ; moesta plebs ; dejecti in terram militum vultus, ac plus tristitiæ, quam pœnitentiæ. Manipulatim adlocuti sunt Licinius Proculus et Plotius Firmus, Præfecti, ex suo quisque ingenio mitius aut horridius. Finis sermonis in eo, ut quina millia nummum singulis militibus numerarentur. Tum Otho ingredi castra ausus : atque illum Tribuni Centurionesque circumstant, abjectis militiæ insignibus. ‘ otium et salutem ’ flagitantes. Sensit invidiam miles, et compositus in obsequium, ‘ auctores seditionis ad supplicium ’ ultro postulabat.

LXXXIII. Otho, quamquam turbidis rebus et diversis militum animis, cum optimus quisque ‘ remedium præsentis licentiæ ’ posceret ; vulgus et plures, seditionibus et ambitioso Imperio læti, per turbas et raptus facilius ad civile bellum inPELLERENTUR : simul reputans, non posse

Principatum, scelere quæsitum, subita modestia et prisca gravitate retineri: sed discrimine urbis, et periculo Senatus anxius, postremo ita disseruit: ‘ Neque ut adfectus vestros in amorem mei accenderem, commilitones, neque ut animum ad virtutem cohortarer (utraque enim egregie supersunt) sed veni postulaturus a vobis temperamentum vestræ fortitudinis, et erga me modum caritatis. Tumultus proximi initium, non cupiditate vel odio, quæ multos exercitus in discordiam egere, ac ne detrectatione quidem aut formidine periculorum: nimia pietas vestra, acrius quam consideratius, excitavit. Nam sæpe honestas rerum caussas, ni iudicium adhibeas, perniciosi exitus consequuntur. Imus ad bellum: num omnes nuntios palam audiri, omnia consilia cunctis præsentibus tractari, ratio rerum aut occasionum velocitas patitur? tam nescire quædam milites, quam scire, oportet. Ita se Ducum auctoritas, sic rigor disciplinæ habet, ut multa etiam Centuriones Tribunosque tantum juberi expediat. Si, ubi jubeantur, quærere singulis liceat, pereunte obsequio etiam imperium intercudit. An et illic nocte intempesta rapiuntur arma? unus alterve perditus ac temulentes (neque enim plures consternatione proxima insanisse crediderim) Centurionis ac Tribuni sanguine manus inbuet? Imperatoris sui tentorium inrumpet?

LXXXIV. ‘ Vos quidem istud pro me: (*s*) sed in discursu ac tenebris et rerum omnium confusione patefieri occasio etiam adversus me potest. Si Vitellio et satellitibus ejus eligendi facultas detur, quem nobis animum, quas mentes inprecentur, quid aliud, quam seditionem et discordiam, optabunt? ne miles Centurioni, ne Centurio Tribuno obsequatur: hinc confusi, pedites equitesque, in exitium ruamus. Parendo potius, commilitones, quam imperia Ducum sciscitando, res militares continentur: (*t*) et fortissimus in ipso discrimine exercitus est, qui ante discrimen quietissimus. Vobis arma et animus sit: mihi consilium et virtutis vestræ regimen relinquite. Paucorum culpa fuit, duorum pœna erit: ceteri abolete memoriam fœdissimæ noctis: nec illas adversus Sena-

*s Pro me.* You did this on my account; *vos* is nominative to some verb understood, perhaps *ausi estis*.

*t* This rule of military subordination stands confirmed by experience in every age and country.

‘tum voces ullus unquam exercitus audiat. Caput Imperii,  
 ‘et decora omnium provinciarum, ad pœnam vocare, non  
 ‘hercle illi, quos cum maxime Vitellius in nos ciet, Ger-  
 ‘mani audeant. Ulli ne Italiæ alumni, et Romana vere  
 ‘juventus, ad sanguinem et cædent deposcerent ordinem,  
 ‘cujus splendore et gloria sordes et obscuritatem Vitel-  
 ‘lianarum partium præstringimus? Nationes aliquas oc-  
 ‘cupavit Vitellius, imaginem quandam exercitus habet:  
 ‘Senatus nobiscum est. Sic fit, ut hinc Respublica, inde  
 ‘hostes Reipublicæ constiterint. Quid? vos pulcherri-  
 ‘mam hanc urbem domibus et tectis et congestu lapidum  
 ‘stare creditis? Muta ista et inanima intercideret ac re-  
 ‘parari promiscua sunt: æternitas rerum et pax gen-  
 ‘tium et mea cum vestra salus incolumitate Senatus fir-  
 ‘matur. Hunc auspicato a parente et conditore urbis  
 ‘nostræ institutum, et a Regibus usque ad Principes, con-  
 ‘tinuum et inmortalem, sicut a majoribus accepimus, sic  
 ‘posteris tradamus. Nam, ut ex vobis Senatores, ita ex  
 ‘Senatoribus Principes nascuntur.’

LXXXV. Ea oratio ad perstringendos mulcendosque  
 militum animos, et severitatis modus (neque enim in plu-  
 res, quam in duos animadverti jusserat) grate accepta,  
 compositique ad præsens, qui coerceri non poterant.  
 Non tamen quies urbi redierat: strépitus telorum et facies  
 belli erat: militibus, ut nihil in commune turbitantibus,  
 ita sparsis per domos, occulto habitu, et maligna cura in  
 omnes, quos nobilitas aut opes aut aliqua insignis claritudo  
 rumoribus objecerat. Vitellianos quoque milites venisse  
 in urbem ad studia partium noscenda, plerique credebant.  
 Unde plena omnia suspicionum, et vix secreta domuum  
 sine formidine. Sed plurimum trepidationis in publico.  
 Ut quemque nuntium fama adtulisset, animum vultum-  
 que conversi, ne diffidere dubiis ac parum gaudere  
 prosperis viderentur. (*u*) Coacto vero in curiam Se-  
 natu, arduus rerum omnium modus, ne contumax si-  
 lentium, ne suspecta libertas. Et privato Othoni nuper,  
 atque eadem dicenti, nota adulatio. Igitur versare sen-  
 tentias, et huc atque illuc torquere, ‘hostem et parrici-  
 ‘dam’ Vitellium vocantes: providentissimus quisque vul-

*u Ut quemque, etc.* Whatever was the rumour of the day, all de-  
 grees and ranks were obliged to set their faces for the occasion: if  
 bad, they were afraid of seeming to despond; and, if propitious, un-  
 willing to be thought backward in demonstrations of joy.



garibus conviciis ; quidam vera probra jacere, in clamore tamen et ubi plurimæ voces, aut tumultu verborum sibi ipsi obstrepentes.

LXXXVI. Prodigia insuper terrebant, diversis auctoribus vulgata. ‘ In vestibulo capitolii omissas habenas bigæ, cui Victoria institerat: erupisse cella Junonis majorem humana speciem: statuam divi Julii in insula Tiberini amnis, (v) sereno et inmoto die, ab Occidente in Orientem conversam: prolocutum in Etruria bovem: insolitos animalium partus:’ et plura alia, rudibus sæculis etiam in pace observata, quæ nunc tantum in metu audiuntur. Sed præcipuus et cum præsentis exitio etiam futuri pavor, subita inundatione Tiberis: qui inmenso auctu, proruto ponte sublicio, (w) ac strage obstantis molis refusus, non modo jacentia et plana urbis loca, sed secunda ejusmodi casuum inplevit. Rapti e publico plerique, plures in tabernis et cubilibus intercepti. Fames in vulgus, inopia quæstus et penuria alimentorum. Conrupta stagnantibus aquis insularum (x) fundamenta, dein, remeante flumine, dilapsa. Utque primum vacuus a periculo animus fuit, id ipsum, quod paranti expeditionem Othoni, campus Martius et via Flaminia, iter belli esset obstructum a fortuitis vel naturalibus caussis, in prodigium et omen imminantium cladum vertebatur.

LXXXVII. Otho, lustrata urbe, et expensis belli consiliis, quando Peninæ Cottinæque Alpes et ceteri Galliarum aditus Vitellianis exercitibus claudebantur, Narbonensem Galliam adgredi statuit ; classe valida et partibus fida, quod reliquos cæsorum ad pontem Milvium, et sævitia Galbæ in custodiam habitos, in numeros legionis composuerat ; facta et ceteris spe honoratoris in posterum militiæ. Addidit classi urbanas cohortes et plerosque e Prætorianis, vires et robur exercitus, atque ipsis Ducibus consilium et custodes. Summa expeditionis Antonio Novello, Suedio Clementi, primipilaribus, Æmilio Pacensi, cui ademptum a Galba Tribunatum reddiderat, permissa. Curam navium Oscus libertus retinebat, ad observandam honestiorum fidem comitatus. Peditum equitumque copiis Suetonius Paulli-

v The Isle in the Tiber, now called *Isola di St. Bartolemeo*.

w The Sublician Bridge, so called, because built of wood. A foundation of solid marble was afterwards laid, but nothing remains at present except the ruins.

x *Insularum*, blocks of buildings, surrounded on every side by streets;

nus, Marius Celsus, Annius Gallus, rectores destinati. Sed plurima fides Licinio Proculo, Prætorii Præfecto : is urbanæ militiæ inpiger, bellorum insolens, auctoritatem Paulini, vigorem Celsi, maturitatem Galli, ut cuique erat, criminando, quod facillimum factu est, pravus et callidus, bonos et modestos anteibat.

LXXXVIII. Sepositus per eos dies Cornelius Dolabella in coloniam Aquinatem, (*y*) neque arcta custodia, neque obscura : nullum ob crimen, sed vetusto nomine et propinquitate Galbæ monstratus. Multos e Magistratibus, magnam consularium partem, Otho, non participes aut ministros bello, sed comitum specie, secum expedire jubet : in quis et L. Vitellium, eodem quo ceteros cultu, nec ut Imperatoris fratrem, nec ut hostis. Igitur mota urbis cura : nullus ordo metu aut periculo vacuus : primores Senatus ætate invalidi et longa pace desides : segnis et oblita bellorum nobilitas ; ignarus militiæ Eques : quanto magis occultare et abdere pavorem nitebantur, manifestius pavidi. Nec deerant e contrario, qui ambitione stolidi, conspicua arma, insignes equos, quidam luxuriosos adparatus conviviorum et inritamenta libidinum, ut instrumenta belli, mercarentur. Sapientibus quietis et Reipublicæ cura : levissimus quisque et futuri improvidus, spe vana tumens : multi adflicta fide (*z*) in pace, ac turbatis rebus alacres, et per incerta tutissimi.

LXXXIX. Sed vulgus, et magnitudine nimia communium curarum expers populus, sentire paullatim belli mala, conversa in militum usum omni pecunia, intentis alimentorum pretiis : quæ, motu Vindicis, haud perinde plebem adriverant, secuta tum urbe et provinciali bello, quod inter legiones Galliasque velut externum fuit. Nam, ex quo Divus Augustus res Cæsarum composuit, procul, et in unius sollicitudinem aut decus, Populus Romanus bellaverat. Sub Tiberio et Caio, tantum pacis adversa in Rempublicam pertinere. Scriboniani contra Claudium incepta simul audita et coercita. Nero nuntiis magis et rumoribus, quam armis depulsus. Tum legiones classesque, et, quod raro alias, Prætorianus urbanusque miles in aciem deducti : Oriens Occidensque et quidquid utrimque virium est, a tergo : si ducibus aliis bellatum foret, longo bello

*y Aquinatem.* Aquinum was a town of the ancient Latins ; now called Aquino.

*z Multi adflicta fide,* bankrupts in fame and fortune.

materia. Fuere, qui proficiscenti Othoni moras ‘ religio-nemque nondum conditorum ancilium,’ (a) adferrent. Adspersus est omnem cunctationem, ut Neroni quoque exitiosam : et Cæcina, jam Alpes transgressus, exstimulabat.

XC. Pridie Idus Martias, commendata Patribus Republica reliquias Neronianarum sectionum, nondum in fiscum conversas, revocatis ab exsilio concessit : (b) justissimum donum et in speciem magnificum, sed, festinata jam pridem exactione, usu sterile. Mox vocata concione, ‘ majestatem urbis et consensum Populi ac Senatus pro se’ adtollens, adversum Vitellianas partes modeste disseruit : ‘ inscitiam potius legionum, quam audaciam,’ increpans, nulla Vitellii mentione : sive ipsius ea moderatio, seu scriptor orationis, sibi metuens, contumeliis in Vitellium abstinuit : quando, ut in consiliis militiæ, Suetonio Paullino et Mario Celso, ita in rebus urbanis Galerii Trachali ingenio Othonem uti credebatur : et erant, qui genus ipsum orandi noscerent, crebro fori usu celebre, et ad inplendas aures latum et sonans. Clamor vocesque vulgi, ex more adulandi, nimix et falsæ : quasi Dictatorem Cæsarem, aut Imperatorem Augustum prosequerentur, ita studiis votisque certabant : nec metu aut amore, sed ex libidine servitii, (c) ut in familiis, privata cuique stimulatio et vile jam decus publicum. Profectus Otho, quietem urbis curasque Imperii Salvio Titiano fratri permisit.

a Numa, the founder of religious ceremonies among the Romans, made them believe, that as long as they preserved the celestial arms called *Ancilia*, which, he said, were sent down by the gods, Rome would prove invincible, and triumph over all her enemies. Accordingly we read in Livy, that the procession of the Salian priests, on stated days, attended the *Ancilia* with song and dance through the streets of Rome. See book 1, s. 20. This institution was neglected by Otho.

b Nero had squandered immense sums in gifts to his favourites. After the accession of Galba, they were ordered to restore nine-tenths of this to the public Treasury. Otho now gave whatever of this property, which had not reached the Treasury, to those who were recalled from exile.

c *Ex libidine servitii*, from mere servility.

Otho left the city of Rome on the 24th day of March, as appears from Suetonius, who mentions his neglect of the institutions relative to the *Ancilia*, as an inauspicious beginning of the war. Suetonius adds, that he set out on the day when all who paid their worship to the mother of the gods, began the usual ceremonies.

That day was the 9th of the Calends of April, which answers to the 24th of March.



THE  
HISTORY  
OF  
TACITUS.  
BOOK II.

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BOOK II.

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Year of Rome.

822

Of Christ.

69

Consuls.

M. Salvius Otho, }  
 L. Salvius Otho. }  
 L. Verginius Rufus, }  
 Pompeius Vopiseus. }  
 Cælius Sabinus, }  
 T. Flavius Sabinus. }  
 T. Arrius Antoninus, }  
 P. Marius Celsus. }



Struebat jam Fortuna, in diversa parte terrarum initia caussasque Imperio, quod varia sorte, lætum Reipublicæ aut atrox, ipsis Principibus prosperum, aut exitio fuit. (a)

a Tacitus says, that fortune was then laying the foundation of a new imperial house, which proved to be both beneficial and disas-



Titus Vespasianus e Judæa, incolumi adhuc Galba, missus a patre, causam profectionis ‘officium erga Principem et ‘maturam petendis honoribus juventam’ ferebat. (b) Sed vulgus fingendi avidum disperserat, ‘accitum in adoptionem :’ materia sermonibus, senium et orbitas Principis et intemperantia civitatis, donec unus eligatur, multos destinandi. Augebat famam ipsius Titi ingenium, quantæcumque fortunæ capax, decor oris cum quadam majestate, prosperæ Vespasiani res, præsaga responsa, (c) et, inclinatis ad credendum animis, loco ominum etiam fortuita. Ubi Corinthi, Achaïæ urbe certos nuntios accepit de interitu Galbæ, et aderant, qui arma Vitellii bellumque adfirmarent, anxius animo, paucis amicorum adhibitis, cuncta utrimque perlustrat. ‘Si pergeret in urbem, nullam officii gratiam, in ‘alterius honorem suscepti: ac se Vitellio, sive Othoni, ‘obsidem fore Sin rediret, offensam haud dubiam victoris: sed incerta adhuc victoria, et concedente in partes ‘patre, filium excusatum. Sin Vespasianus Rempublicam ‘susciperet, obliviscendum offensarum de bello agitantibus.’

II. His ac talibus inter spem metumque jactatum, spes vicit. Fuere, qui, ‘accensum desiderio Berenices Reginæ, (d) vertisse iter’ crederent. Neque abhorrebat a Berenice juvenilis animus: sed gerendis rebus nullum ex eo impedimentum: lætam voluptatibus adolescentiam egit, suo quam patris imperio moderatior. Igitur oram Achaïæ et Asiæ, ac læva maris prævectus, Rhodum et Cyprum in-

trous to the people, and also to the very family that was raised to that pre-eminence.

This is perfectly clear, when we consider, that Rome was happy under Vespasian and Titus, but groaned under Domitian, till the tyrant was destroyed, and the Flavian line was extinguished.

b Titus, at this time, was in his twenty-eighth year. By the favour of Narcissus, he was educated in the palace with Britannicus, the son of Claudius. The prince, then destined by his father to succeed to the empire, was cut off by the villany of Nero; and Titus, whose elevation was not then foreseen, lived to be the delight of the Roman people.

c Suetonius says, that Narcissus consulted a fortune-teller about the destiny of Britannicus: the answer was unfavourable to the young Prince, but assured Titus that he was born to the imperial dignity.

d Berenice was sister to Agrippa II. and wife of Herod. king of Chæladis in Syria.

sulas, inde Syriam, audentioribus spatiis petebat. (*e*) Atque illum cupido incessit, adeundi visendique templum Paphiæ Veneris, inclytum per indigenas advenasque. (*f*) Haud fuerit longum, initia religionis, templi situm, formam Deæ, neque enim alibi sic habetur, paucis disserere.

III. 'Conditorem templi Regem Ærian' vetus memoria, quidam 'ipsius Deæ nomen id' perhibent. Fama recentior tradit, 'a Cinyra sacratum templum, Deamque ipsam, 'conceptam mari, huc adpulsam. Sed scientiam artemque 'Haruspicum accitam; et Cilicem Tamiram intulisse: atque ita pactum, ut familiæ utriusque (*g*) posterî cærimoniis præsiderent.' Mox, ne honore nullo Regium genus peregrinam stirpem antecelleret, ipsa, quam intulerant, scientia hospites cessere: tantum Cinyrades Sacerdos consulitur. Hostiæ, ut quisque vovit, sed mares deliguntur. Certissima fides hædorum fibris. Sanguinem aræ obfundere vetitum: precibus et igne puro altaria adolentur, nec ullis imbribus, quamquam in aperto, madescent. Simulacrum Deæ non effigie humana: continuus orbis (*h*) latiore

*e* When Titus no longer sails along the coast, but off to sea, Tacitus calls it a bolder voyage, *audentioribus spatiis*; an expression, which, in the present state of navigation, may provoke the smile of a mariner. The compass was not then invented, and men did not like to lose sight of the shore.

*f* At the town of Paphos, which stood on the western side of the isle of Cyprus, a temple was dedicated to Venus. The account of the rites and ceremonies, which Tacitus has given, has been considered by some critics, as an idle digression: but when it is considered that the history of superstition was not uninteresting to the Romans, this passage will not be thought improper.

*g* *Familiæ utriusque*, i. e. of Cyniras and Thamiras, Cyniras is said by Apollodorus, to have been one of the kings of Assyria. Thamiras introduced the science of augury, which was founded altogether upon deceit and fraud. Accordingly, we find that care was taken to keep it in the hands of two families, that the secret of the art might not transpire.

*h* *Continuus orbis*, etc. A round figure, broad at the base, but growing small by degrees, till, like a cone, it lessens to a point. The worship paid to Venus, as the parent of the whole animal creation, was of ancient date, and known for ages to the Assyrians. The rude state of sculpture may, perhaps, account for the representation of the goddess, as described by Tacitus. Clemens of Alexandria, makes that observation. The statuary, he says, had not the skill to give the elegance of symmetry and proportion: he therefore left the form and delicacy of Venus to the imagination.

initio tenuem in ambitum, metæ modo, exsurgens : et ratio in obscuro.

IV. Titus, spectata opulentiâ donisque Regum, quæque alia lætum antiquitatibus Græcorum genus incertæ vestustati adfingit, ‘de navigatione’ primum consuluit. Postquam ‘pandi viam et mare prosperum’ accepit, de se per ambages interrogat, cæsis compluribus hostiis. Sostratus (Sacerdotis id nomen erat) ubi læta et congruentia exta, magnisque consultis annuere Deam, videt, pauca in præsens et solita respondens, petito secreto, futura aperit. Titus, aucto animo, ad patrem pervectus, suspensis provinciarum et exercituum mentibus, ingens rerum fiducia accessit. Profligaverat bellum Judaicum Vespasianus ; oppugnatione Hierosolymorum reliqua, (i) duro magis et arduo opere, ob ingenium montis et pervicaciam superstitionis, quam quo satis virium obsessis ad tolerandas necessitates superesset. Tres, ut supra memoravimus, ipsi Vespasiano legiones erant, exercitæ bello : quatuor Mucianus obtinebat in pace ; sed æmulatio et proximi exercitus gloria repulerat segnitiam : quantumque illis roboris discrimina et labor, tantum his vigoris addiderat integra quies et inexpertus belli labor : auxilia utrique cohortium alarumque, et classes Regesque, ac nomen dispari fama celebre.

V. Vespasianus, acer militiæ, anteire agmen, locum castris capere, noctu diuque consilio, ac, si res posceret, manu hostibus obniti : cibo fortuito, veste habituque vix a gregario milite discrepans : prorsus, si avaritia abesset, antiquis Ducibus par. Mucianum e contrario magnificentia et opes et cuncta privatum modum supergressa extollebant : aptior sermoni, dispositu provisuque civilium rerum peritus : egregium Principatus temperamentum, si, demptis utriusque vitiis, solæ virtutes miscerentur. Ceterum hic Syriæ, ille Judææ præpositus, vicinis provinciarum administrationibus, invidia discordes, exitu demum Neronis, positis odiis, in medium consuluere : primum per amicos : dein præcipua concordia fides, Titus, prava certamina communi utilitate aboleverat : natura atque arte compositus adliciendis etiam Muciani moribus. Tribuni Centurionesque et vulgus militum, industria, licentia, per virtutes, per voluptates, ut cuique ingenium, adsciscebantur.

i The rapid success of Vespasian had well nigh ended the Jewish war. Jerusalem was the only place which held out.



VI. Antequam Titus adventaret, sacramentum Othonis acceperat uterque exercitus, præcipitibus, ut adsolet, nuntiis, et tarda mole civilis belli, quod longa concordia quietus Oriens tunc primum parabat. Namque olim validissima inter se civium arma, in Italia Galliave, viribus Occidentis cœpta. Et Pompeio, Cassio, Bruto, Antonio, quos omnes trans mare secutum est civile bellum, haud prosperi exitus fuerant. Auditique sæpius in Syria Judæaque Cæsares, quam inspecti. Nulla seditio legionum: tantum adversus Parthos minæ, (*j*) vario eventu. Et proximo civili bello, (*k*) turbatis aliis, inconcussa ibi pax: dein fides erga Galbæm. Mox, ut, 'Othonem ac Vitellium scelestis armis 'res Romanas raptum ire,' vulgatum est, ne penes ceteros Imperii præmia, penes ipsos tantum sevitiæ necessitas esset, fremere miles et vires suas circumspicere. Septem legiones statim et cum ingentibus auxiliis Syria Judæaque: inde continua Ægyptus duæque legiones: hinc Cappadocia Pontusque et quidquid castrorum Armeniis prætenditur. (*l*) Asia et ceteræ provinciæ, nec virorum inopes et pecuniæ opulentæ: quantum, insularum mari cingitur, et parando interim bello secundum tutumque ipsum mare.

VII. Non fallebat Duces impetus militum: sed, bellantibus aliis, placuit exspectari belli exitum: 'victores victos-que numquam solida fide coalescere: nec referre, Vitellium an Othonem superstitem Fortuna faceret. Rebus 'secundis etiam egregios Duces insolescere: discordiam his, 'ignaviam, luxuriam: et suismet vitiis alterum bello, alterum victoria periturum.' Igitur arma in occasionem distulere, Vespasianus Mucianusque nuper, ceteri olim mixtis consiliis: optimus quisque amore Reipublicæ: multos dulcedo prædarum stimulabat; alios ambiguae domi res. Ita boni malique caussis diversis, studio pari, bellum omnes cupiebant.

*j* The Parthians were originally a people from Scythia: in process of time, when their empire grew in strength, they became the grand rivals of the Romans. The overthrow of Crassus is well known. Both nations experienced alternate disasters in the course of their various wars.

*k* The last civil war was that between Vindex and Nero.

*l* Cappadocia was a large territory of Asia Minor, between Cilicia and the Euxine Sea. Pontus was an extensive country of Asia Minor, lying between Bithynia and Paphlagonia. Armenia was a kingdom of Asia, having Albania and Iberia to the north, mount Taurus and Mesopotamia to the south.

VIII. Sub idem tempus Achaia atque Asia falso exterri-  
tæ, velut Nero adventaret: vario super exitu ejus rumore,  
eoque pluribus vivere eum fingentibus (*m*) credentibusque.  
Ceterorum casus conatusque in contextu operis dicemus:  
tunc servus e Ponto, sive, ut alii tradidere, libertinus ex  
Italia, citharæ et cantus peritus (unde illi, super similitudi-  
nem oris, propior ad fallendum fides) adjunctis desertori-  
bus, quos inopia vagos ingentibus promissis conruperat,  
mare ingreditur; ac, vi tempestatum Cythnum insulam de-  
trusus et militum quosdam ex Oriente commeantium ad-  
scivit, vel abnuentes interfici jussit, et spoliatis negotiatori-  
bus, mancipiorum valentissimum quemque armavit. Cen-  
turionemque Sisennam, dextras, concordiae insignia, Syria-  
ci exercitus nomine ad Prætorianos ferentem, variis arti-  
bus adgressus est: donec Sisenna, clam relictâ insula, tre-  
pidus et vim metuens aufugeret: inde late terror, multis ad  
celebritatem nominis erectis, rerum novarum cupidine et  
odio præsentium.

IX. Gliscentem in dies famam fors discussit. Galatiam  
ac Pamphyliam provincias Calpurnio Asprenati regendas  
Galba permiserat: datæ e classe Misenensi duæ triremes  
ad prosequendum, cum quibus Cythnum insulam tenuit, (*n*)  
Nec defuere, qui trierarchos nomine Neronis accirent: is  
in mœstitiam compositus, et 'fidem suorum quondam mili-  
'tum' invocans, 'ut eum in Syria (*s*) aut Ægypto sisterent,'  
orabat. Trierarchi nutantes, seu dola, 'adloquendos sibi  
'milites, et paratis omnium animis reversuros,' firmaverunt.  
Sed Asprenati cuncta ex fide nuntiata: cujus cohortatione  
expugnata navis, et interfectus quisquis ille erat. Corpus,  
insigne oculis comaque et torvitate vultus (*t*) in Asiam at-  
que inde Romam pervectum est.

X. In civitate discordi et, ob crebras Principum mutatio-  
nes, inter libertatem ac licentiam incerta, parvæ quoque res  
magnis motibus agebantur. Vibius Crispus, pecunia, po-

*m* A number of impostors, at different times, assumed the name of Nero.

*n* Galatia and Pamphylia, were countries of Asia Minor. Cyth-  
nus, one of the islands called the Cyclades in the Ægean sea. Misen-  
um, a promontory of Campania; now *Capo di Miseno*.

*s* Syria, a country of Nether Asia, between the Mediterranean and  
the Euphrates, so extensive that Palestine was considered a part of it.

*t* The same ferocity appeared in Nero's countenance after he was  
dead.

tentia, ingenio inter claros magis, quam inter bonos, Annium Faustum, Equestris ordinis, qui temporibus Neronis delationes factitaverat, ad cognitionem Senatus vocabat. Nam recens, Galbæ Principatu, censuerant Patres, 'ut accusatorum caussæ noscerentur.' Id Senatusconsultum varie jactatum et, prout potens vel inops reus inciderat, infirmum aut validum retinebatur. Ad hoc terroris et propria vi Crispus incubuerat, delatorem fratris sui (*u*) pervertere: traxeratque magnam Senatus partem, 'ut indefensum et 'inauditum dedi ad exitium' postularent. Contra apud alios nihil æque reo proderat, quam nimia potentia adulatoris: 'dari tempus, edi crimina, quamvis invisum ac nocentem, more tamen audiendum,' censebant. Et valere primo, dilataque in paucos dies cognitio: mox damnatus est Faustus, nequaquam eo adsensu civitatis, quem pessimis moribus meruerat: quippe ipsum Crispum easdem accusationes cum præmio exercuisse meminerant: nec poena criminis, sed ultor displicebat.

XI. Læta interim Othoni principia belli, motis ad imperium ejus e Dalmatia Pannoniaque exercitibus: fuere quatuor legiones: e quibus bina millia præmissa: ipsæ modicis intervallis sequebantur: septima a Galba conscripta; veteranæ undecima ac tertiadecima et præcipua fama quartadecumani, rebellionē Britanniae compressa. Addiderat gloriam Nero, eligendo, ut postissimos: unde longa illis erga Neronem fides, et erecta in Othonem studia. Sed, quo plus virium ac roboris, e fiducia tarditas inerat agmen legionum alæ cohortesque præveniebant. Et ex ipsa urbe haud spernenda manus, quinque Prætoriae cohortes, et equitum vexilla cum legione prima: ac deforme insuper auxilium, duo millia gladiatorum, sed per civilia arma etiam severis Ducibus usurpatum. His copiis rector additus Annius Gallus, cum Vestricio Spurinna ad occupandas Padi ripas præmissus: quoniam prima consiliorum frustra ceciderant, transgresso jam Alpes Cæcina, quem sisti intra Gallias posse speraverat. Ipsum Othonem comitabantur speculatorum (*v*) lecta corpora, cum ceteris Prætorii cohortibus, veterani e Prætorio, classicorum ingens numerus. Nec illi segne aut corruptum luxu iter: sed

*u* His brother was Vibius Secundus; a man convicted of extortion.

*v* *Speculatorum*, prætorian guards.



lorica ferrea usus est, et ante signa pedester, horridus, in-comptus, famæque dissimilis.

XII. Blandiebatur cœptis Fortuna, possessa per mare et naves majore Italiæ parte, penitus usque ad initium maritimarum Alpiûm: quibus tentandis adgrediendæque provinciæ Narbonensi, Suedium Clementem, Antonium Novellum, Æmilium Pacensem Duces dederat. Sed Pacensis per licentiam militum vinctus: Antonio Novello nulla auctoritas: Suedius Clemens ambitioso imperio regebat, ut adversus modestiam disciplinæ corruptus, (*w*) ita prœliorum avidus. Non Italia adiri, nec loca sedesque patriæ videbantur: tamquam externa litora et urbes hostium urere, vastare, rapere: eo atrocius, quod nihil usquam provisum adversum metus. Pleni agri, apertæ domus: occursantes domini juxta conjuges et liberos securitate pacis et belli malo circumveniebantur. Maritimas tum Alpes tenebat Procurator Marius Maturus. Is concita gente (nec deest juven-tus) arcere provinciæ finibus Othonianos intendit. Sed primo inpetu cæsi disjectique montani, ut quibus, temere conlectis, non castra, non ducem noscitantibus, neque in victoria decus esset, neque in fuga flagitium.

XIII. Inritatus eo prælio Othonis miles vertit iras in municipium Albium Intemelium: (*y*) quippe in acie nihil prædæ: inopes agrestes et vilia arma: nec capi poterant, pernix genus et gnari locorum: sed calamitatibus insontium expleta avaritia. Auxit invidiam præclaro exemplo femina Ligus, quæ filio abdito, cum simul pecuniam occultari milites credidissent, eoque per cruciatus interrogarent, 'ubi filium occuleret?' uterum ostendens, 'latere' respondit. Nec ullis deinde terroribus, aut morte, constantiam vocis egregiæ mutavit.

XIV. 'Inminere provinciæ Narbonensi, in verba Vitellii adactæ, classem Othonis,' Fabio Valenti trepidi nuntii adtulere. Aderant legati coloniarum, auxilium orantes. Duas Tungrorum cohortes, quatuor equitum turmas, universam Treverorum alam cum Julio Classico, Præfecto, misit: e quibus pars in colonia Foro juliensi retenta, ne, omnibus copiis in terrestre iter versis, vacuo mari classis

*w* Ut adversus modestiam disciplinæ corruptus. He being too indulgent to the soldiers, and not enforcing strict discipline. Gronovius prefers *corruptos* and *avidos*, referring to the soldiers.

*y* Albium Intemelium; now Vintimiglia, southwest of the territory of Genoa.

acceleraret. Duodecim equitum turmæ, (z) et lecti e cohortibus, adversus hostem iere : quibus adjuncta Ligurum cohors, vetus loci auxilium, et quingenti Alpini, qui nondum sub signis. Nec mora prælio : sed acie ita instructa, ut pars classicorum, mixtis paganis, in colles mari propinquos exurgeret, quantum inter colles ac litus æqui loci, Prætorianus miles expleret, in ipso mari ut annexa classis et pugnæ parata, conversa et minaci fronte prætenderetur. Vitelliani, quibus minor peditum vis, in equite robur, Alpinos proximis jugis, cohortes densis ordinibus post equitem locant. Treverorum turmæ obtulere se hosti incaute, cum exciperet contra veteranus miles, simul a latere saxis urgeret apta ad jaciendum etiam paganorum manus : qui sparsi inter milites, strenui ignavique, tu victoria idem audebant. Additus percussis terror, invecta in terga pugnantium classe. Ita undique clausi : deletæque omnes copię forent, ni victorem exercitum adinuisset obscurum noctis, obtentui fugientibus.

XV. Nec Vitelliani, quamquam victi, quievire : accitis auxiliis, securum hostem ac successu rerum socordius agentem invadunt : cæsi vigiles, perrupta castra, trepidatum apud naves : donec, cedente paullatim metu, occupato juxta colle defensi, mox inrupere : atrox ibi cædes, et Tungrarum cohortium Præfecti, sustentata diu acie, telis obruuntur. Ne Othonianis quidem incruenta victoria fuit, quorum inprovidè secutos conversi equites circumvenerunt. Ac velut pactis induciis, ne hinc classis, inde eques, subitam formidinem inferrent, Vitelliani retro Antipolim, 'Narbonensis Galliæ municipium : Othoniani Albingaunum interioris Liguriæ, revertere.

XVI. Corsicam ac Sardiniam, (a) ceterasque proximæ maris insulas, fama victricis classis in partibus Othonis tenuit. Sed Corsicam prope adflixit D. Pacarii Procuratoris temeritas, tanta mole belli, nihil in summam profutura, ipsi exitiosa. Namque, Othonis odio, juvare Vitellium Corsorum viribus statuit, inani auxilio, etiam si provenisset. Vocatis principibus insulæ, consilium aperit : et contra dicere ausos, Claudium Phirricum, Trierarchum liburni-

z There were usually three hundred cavalry joined to each legion, who were called *ala*. They were divided into ten *turmæ* or troops, and each *turma* into three *decuriæ*, or bodies of ten men.

a Corsica and Sardinia are islands in that part of the Mediterranean called the sea of Liguria.

carum ibi navium, Quinctium Certum, Equitem Romanum, interfici jubet: quorum morte exterriti, qui aderant, simul ignara et alieni metus socia imperitorum turba, in verba Vitellii juravere. Sed, ubi delectum agere Pacarius, et inconditos homines fatigare militiæ muneribus occepit, laborem insolitum perosi, infirmitatem suam reputabant: ‘insulam esse, quam incolerent, et longe Germaniam viresque legionum: direptos vastatosque classe, etiam quos cohortes alæque protegerent.’ Et aversi repente animi: nec tamen aperta vi, aptum tempus insidiis legere: digressis, qui Pacarium frequentabant, nudus et auxilii inops, balineis interficitur, trucidati et comites. Capita, ut hostium, ipsi interfectores ad Othonem tulere: neque eos (b) aut Otho præmio adfecit, aut punivit Vitellius, in multa conlue rerum majoribus flagitiis permixtos.

XVII. Aperuerat jam Italiam, bellumque transmiserat, ut supra memoravimus, ala Syllana, nullo apud quamquam Othonis favore: nec quia Vitellium mallent; sed longa pax ad omne servitium fregerat, faciles occupantibus (c) et melioribus incuriosos. Florentissimum Italiæ latus, quantum inter Padum Alpesque camporum et urbium, armis Vitellii (namque et præmissæ a Cæcina cohortes advenérunt) tenebatur. Capta Pannoniorum cohors apud Cremonam. Intercepti centum equites ac mille classici inter Placentiam Ticinumque: quo successu Vitellianus miles non jam flumine aut ripis arcebat. Inritabat quin etiam Batavos Transrhenanosque Padus ipse: quem repente, contra Placentiam, transgressi, raptis quibusdam exploratoribus, ita ceteros terruere, ut, ‘adesse omnem Cæcinæ exercitum,’ trepidi ac falsi nuntiarent.

XVIII. Certum erat Spurinnæ (is enim Placentiam obtinebat,) nec dum venisse Cæcinam, et, si propinquaret, coercere intra munimenta militem, nec tres Prætorias cohortes et mille vexillarios, cum paucis equitibus, veterano exercitui objicere. Sed indomitus miles et belli ignarus, conreptis signis vexillisque, ruere, et retinenti Duci tela intentare, spretis Centurionibus Tribunisque; quin ‘prodi-

b *Neque eos, etc.* The idea is that the assassins were not punished by either Otho or Vitellius. In the mass of atrocious deeds that disgraced the times, petty villanies were suffered to pass with impunity.

c *Faciles occupantibus, etc.* Ready to stretch their necks to the yoke, whatever hand imposed it; in their choice of a master wholly indifferent.



'tionum, et accitum Cæcinam,' clamitabant. Fit temeritatis alienæ comes Spurinna, primo coactus, mox velle simulans, quo plus auctoritatis inesset consiliis, si seditio mitesceret.

XIX. Postquam in conspectu Padus et nox adpetebat, vallari castra placuit. Is labor, urbano militi insolitus, contudit animos. Tum vetustissimus quisque castigare 'credulitatem suam, metum ac discrimen' ostendere, 'si cum exercitu Cæcina, patentibus campis, tam paucas cohortes circumfudisset.' Jamque totis castris modesti sermones, et, inserentibus se Centurionibus Tribunisque, laudari 'providentia Ducis, quod coloniam, virium et opum validam, robur ac sedem bello legisset.' Ipse postremo Spurinna, non tam culpam exprobrans, quam ratione ostendens, relictis explorantibus, ceteros Placentiam reduxit, minus turbidos et imperia accipientes. Solidati muri, propugnacula addita, auctæ turres, provisa parataque non arma modo, sed obsequium et parendi amor; quod solum illis partibus defuit, cum virtutis haud pœniteret.

XX. At Cæcina, velut relictæ post Alpes sævitia ac licentia, modesto agmine per Italiam incessit. Ornatum ipsius municipia et coloniæ in superbiam trahebant: quod versicolore sagulo, braccas, (*d*) tegmen barbarum, indutus, togatos adloqueretur. Uxorem quoque ejus, Saloninam, quamquam in nullius injuriam insigni equo ostroque veheretur, tamquam læsi gravabantur: insita mortalibus natura, recentem aliorum felicitatem ægris oculis introspicere, modumque fortunæ a nullis magis exigere, quam quos in æquo videre. Cæcina, Padum transgressus, tentata Othonianorum fide per colloquium et promissa, iisdem petitus, postquam pax et concordia speciosis et inritis nominibus jactata sunt, consilia curasque in oppugnationem Placentiæ magno terrore vertit: gnarus, ut initia belli provenissent, famam in cetera fore.

XXI. Sed primus dies inpetu magis, quam veterani exercitus artibus, transactus: aperti incautique muros subiere, cibo vinoque prægraves. In eo certamine, pulcherrimum amphitheatri opus, situm extra muros, conflavit: sive ab oppugnatoribus incensum, dum faces et glandes ac missilem ignem in obsessos jaculantur: sive ab

*d* Cæcina wore the *sagulum* or *sagum*, which was the German dress, and the *braccæ*, or breeches which distinguished the Gauls.

obsessis, dum retorta ingerunt. Municipale vulgus, pronum ad suspiciones, fraude inlata ignis alimenta credidit a quibusdam e vicinis coloniis, invidia et æmulatione, quod nulla in Italia moles tam capax foret: quocunque casu accidit, dum atrociora metuebantur, in levi habitum: reddita securitate, tamquam nihil gravius pati potuissent, mœrebant. Ceterum multo suorum cruore pulsus Cæcina: et nox parandis operibus adsumpta. Vitelliani pluteos cratesque et vineas suffodiendis muris, protegendisque oppugnatoribus; Othoniani sudes et immensas lapidum ac plumbi ærisque moles, perfringendis obruendisque hostibus, expediunt. Utrimque pudor, utrimque gloria, et diversæ exhortationes hinc 'legionum et Germanici exercitus robur,' inde 'urbanæ militiæ et Prætoriarum cohortium decus' adtollentium: illi 'ut segnem ac desidem et circo ac theatris corruptum militem;' hi 'peregrinum et externum' increpabant: simul Othonem et Vitellium, celebrantes culpantesve, uberioribus inter se probris quam laudibus stimulabantur.

XXII. Vixdum orto die, plena propugnatoribus mœnia: fulgentes armis virisque campi, densum legionum agmen, sparsa auxiliorum manus, altiora murorum sagittis aut saxis incessere: neglecta, aut ævo fluxa cominus adgredi: ingerunt desuper Othoniani pila, librato magis et certo ictu, adversus temere subeuntes cohortes Germanorum, cantu truci, et more patrio nudis corporibus, super humeros scuta quatientium. Legionarius, pluteis et cratibus tectus, subruit muros, instruit aggerem, molitur portas. Contra Prætoriani dispositos ad id ipsum molares ingenti pondere ac fragore provolvunt: pars subeuntium obruti; pars confixi et exsanguis, aut laceri, cum augeret stragem trepidatio, eoque acrius e mœnibus vulnerarentur, rediere, infracta partium fama. Et Cæcina, pudore cœptæ temere oppugnationis, ne inrisus ac vanus iisdem castris adsideret, trajecto rursus Pado, Cremonam petere intendit. Tradidere sese abeunti Turulius Cerialis cum compluribus classicis; et Julius Briganticus cum paucis equitum: hic Præfectus alæ, in Batavis genitus; ille Primpilaris et Cæcinæ haud alienus, quod ordines in Germania duxerat.

XXIII. Spurinna, comperto itinere hostium, defensam Placentiam, quæque acta, et quid Cæcina pararet, Annium Gallum per litteras docet. Gallus legionem primam in auxilium Placentiæ ducebat, diffusus paucitate cohortium, ne

longius obsidium et vim Germanici exercitus parum tollerent : ubi pulsum Cæcinam pergere Cremonam accepit, ægre coercitam legionem, et pugnandi ardore usque ad seditionem progressam, Bedriaci (*e*) sistit. Inter Veronam Cremonamque situs est vicus, duabus jam Romanis cladibus notus infaustusque. Iisdem diebus a Martio Macro haud procul Cremona prospere pugnatum : namque promptus animi Martius transvectos navibus gladiatores in adversam Padi ripam repente effudit. Turbata ibi Vitellianorum auxilia, et, ceteris Cremonam fugientibus, cæsi, qui restiterant : sed repressus vincentium impetus, ne, novis subsidiiis firmati, hostes fortunam prælii mutarent. Suspectum id Othonianis fuit, omnia Ducum facta prave æstimantibus. Certatim, ut quisque animo ignavus, procax ore, Annium Gallum et Suetonium Paullinum et Marium Celsum (nam eos Otho quoque præfecerat) variis criminibus incessebant. Acerrima seditionum ac discordiæ incitamenta, interfec-tore Galbæ : scelere et metu vecordes, miscere cuncta, modo palam turbidis vocibus, modo occultis ad Othonem litteris : qui humillimo cuique credulus, bonos metuens, trepidabat ; rebus prosperis incertus, et inter adversa melior. Igitur Titianum, fratrem, accitum bello præposuit. Interea Paullini et Celsi ductu res egregiæ gestæ.

XXIV. Angebat Cæcinam nequidquam omnia cœpta, et senescens exercitus sui fama : pulsus Placentia, cæsis nuper auxiliis, etiam per concursum exploratorum, crebra magis quam digna memoratu prælia, inferior ; propinquantem Fabio Valente, ne omne belli decus illuc concederet, recipere gloriam, avidius quam consultius, properabat. Ad duodecimum a Cremona, locus Castrorum vocatur, (*g*) ferocissimos auxiliarium, imminentibus viæ lucis occultos, componit : equites ‘procedere longius’ jussi, ‘et, irritato ‘prælio sponte refugi, festinationem sequentium elicere, ‘donec insidiæ coorirentur.’ Proditum id Othonianis Ducibus : et curam peditum Paullinus, equitum Celsus, sumpserunt. Tertiædecimæ legionis vexillum, quatuor auxiliorum

*e* *Bedriacum*. This village, which, according to Cluverius, stood at the distance of twenty miles from Cremona, and is now called *Caneto*, has been rendered famous by the defeat of Otho, and afterwards as will be seen in the third book of this History, by that of Vitellius.

*g* The place called here *Castrorum*, was a spot where the temple of Castor was built. See Suetonius in Otho, s. 9. It was about twelve miles from Cremona, between the Po and the Addua now *Addæ*.



cohortes et quingenti equites in sinistro locantur; aggerem viæ tres Prætoriae cohortes altis ordinibus obtinuerunt: dextra fronte prima legio incessit, cum duabus auxiliaribus cohortibus et quingentis equitibus. Super hos e Prætorio auxiliisque mille equites, cumulus prosperis, aut subsidium laborantibus, ducebantur.

XXV. Antequam miscerentur acies, terga vertentibus Vitellianis, Cæsus, doli prudens, repressit suos. Vitelliani temere exsurgentes, cedente sensim Celso, longius secuti, ultro in insidias præcipitantur: nam a lateribus cohortes, legionum adversa fronte, et subito discursu terga cinxerant equites. Signum pugnae non statim a Suetonio Paullino pediti datum: cunctator natura, et cui cauta potius consilia cum ratione, quam prospera ex casu, placerent, 'compleri fossas, aperiri campum, pandi aciem' jubebat; (*h*) 'satis cito incipi victoriam, ubi provisum foret, ne vincerentur.' Ea cunctatione spatium Vitellianis datum, in vineas, nexu traducum (*i*) inpeditas, refugiendi: et modica silva adhærebat: unde rursus ausi promptissimos Prætorianorum equitum interfecere: vulneratur Rex Epiphanes, (*j*) inipigre pro Othone pugnam ciens.

XXVI. Tum Othonianus pedes erupit; protrita hostium acie, versi in fugam, etiam qui subveniebant: nam Cæcina non simul cohortes, sed singulas acciverat: quæ res in prælio trepidationem auxit, cum dispersos, nec usquam validos, pavor fugientium abriperet. Orta et in castris seditio, quod non universi ducerentur: vinctus Præfectus, castrorum, Julius Gratus, 'tamquam fratri, apud Othonem militanti, prodicionem ageret:' cum fratrem ejus, Julium Frontonem, Tribunum, Othoniani sub eodem crimine vinxissent. Ceterum ea ubique formido fuit apud fugientes, occursantes, in acie, pro vallo, ut 'deleri cum universo exercitu Cæcinam potuisse, ni Suetonius Paullinus receptui cecinisset,' utrisque in partibus percrebuerit. 'Timuisse se,' Paullinus ferebat, 'tantum insuper laboris ac itineris, ne Vitellianus miles, recens e castris, fessos adgrederetur, et percussis nullum retro subsidium

*h* *Compleri fossas, etc.* He orders the hollows to be filled up, the ground to be cleared, and his line to be extended.

*i* When the branches of vines extended from one tree to another, they were called *traduces*.

*j* Epiphanes was the son of Antiochus IV. King of Commagene, a district of Syria.

‘foret;’ apud paucos ea Ducis ratio probata, in vulgus adverso rumore fuit.

XXVII. Haud perinde id damnum Vitellianos in metum compulit, quam ad modestiam composuit: nec solum apud Cæcinam, qui culpam ‘in militem,’ conferebat, ‘seditioni’ ‘magis quam proelio paratum;’ Fabii quoque Valentis copiae (jam enim Ticinum (*k*) venerat) posito hostium contemptu, et recuperandi decoris cupidine, reverentius et æqualius Duci parebant. Gravis aliquin seditio exarserat, quam altiore initio (neque enim rerum a Cæcina gestarum ordinem interrumpi oportuerat) repetam. Cohortes Batavorum, quas bello Neronis a quartadecima legione digressas, cum Britanniam peterent, audito Vitellii motu, in civitate Lingonum Fabio Valenti adjunctas retulimus, superbe agebant; ut cujusque legionis tentoria accessissent, ‘coercitos a se quartadecimanos, ablatam Neroni Italiam, atque omnem belli fortunam in ipsorum ‘manu sitam,’ jactantes. Contumeliosum id militibus, acerbum Duci: corrupta jurgiis aut rixis disciplina: ad postremum Valens e petulantia etiam perfidiam suspectabat.

XXVIII. Igitur nuntio adlato, ‘pulsam Treverorum ‘alam Tungrosque a classe Othonis et Narbonensem Galliam circumiri;’ simul cura socios tuendi et militari astu cohortes turbidas, ac, si una forent, prævalidas, dispergendi, partem Batavorum ‘ire in subsidium’ jubet: quod ubi auditum vulgatumque, mœrere socii, fremere legiones: ‘orbari se fortissimorum virorum auxilio: veteres illos et ‘tot bellorum victores, postquam in conspectu sit hostis, ‘velut ex acie abduci: si provincia urbe et salute Imperii ‘potior sit, omnes illuc sequerentur: sin victoriæ sanitas, ‘sustentaculum, columnen in Italia verteretur, non abrumpendos, ut corpori, validissimos artus.’

XXIX. Hæc ferociter jactando, postquam, inmissis licitoribus, Valens coercere seditionem cœptabat, ipsum invadunt, saxa jaciunt, fugientem sequuntur, ‘spolia Galliarum ‘et Viennensium aurum (*l*) et pretia laborum suorum occultare,’ clamitantes, direptis sarcinis, tabernacula Ducis, ipsamque humum pilis et lanceis rimabantur: nam Valens

*k* Ticinum, a city built by the Transalpine Gauls, on the river Ticinus.

*l* The people of Vienne were obliged to purchase the protection of Valens. Hist. i. s. 66.

servili veste apud Decurionem equitum tegebatur. Tum Alphenus Varus, Præfectus castrorum, deflagrante paulatim seditione, addit consilium, vetiti obire vigiliæ Centurionibus, omisso tubæ sono, (*m*) quo miles ad belli munia ciatur. Igitur torpere cuncti, circumspectare inter se adtoniti: et ipsum, quod nemo regeret, paventes: silentio, patientia, postremo precibus ac lacrymis veniam quærebant. Ut vero deformis et flens et præter spem incolumis Valens processit, gaudium, miseratio, favor: versi in lætitiā, (ut est vulgus utroque immodicum) laudantes gratantesque: circumdatum aquilis signisque in tribunal ferunt. Ille utili moderatione non supplicium cujusquam poposcit: ac ne dissimulans suspectior foret, paucos incusavit: gnarus civilibus bellis plus militibus, quam ducibus, licere. (*n*)

XXX. Munientibus castra apud Ticinum, de adversa Cæcinæ pugna adlatum, et prope renovata seditio, 'tamquam fraude et cunctationibus Valentis prælio defuissent.' Nolle requiem, non expectare ducem, anteire signa, urgere signiferos: rapido agmine Cæcinæ junguntur. Inprospera Valentis fama apud exercitum Cæcinæ erat: 'expositos se tanto pauciores integris viribus,' querebantur, simul in suam excusationem, et adventantium robur per adulationem adtollentes, ne ut victi et ignavi despectarentur. Et quamquam plus virium, prope duplicatus legionum auxiliorumque numerus erat Valenti, studia tamen militum in Cæcinā inclinabant; super benignitatem animi, qua promptior habebatur, etiam vigore ætatis, proceritate corporis et quodam inani favore. (*o*) Hinc æmulatio Ducibus. Cæcina 'ut foedum et maculosum,' ille 'ut vanum ac tumidum,' inridebant. Sed condito odio, eandem utilitatem fovere, crebris epistolis, sine respectu veniæ, probra Othoni objectantes: cum duces partium Othonis, quamvis uberrima conviciorum in Vitellium materia, abstinere.

*m* The signals were given to the night watch by the sound of a trumpet.

*n* In an army, where all, from the highest to the lowest, committed the most violent outrages, the soldiers knew no subordination. Guilt, when widely spread, levels all distinctions.

*o* Cæcina was admired by his soldiers, for those agreeable secondary qualities, which often captivate the multitude. Corbulo, the great commander, so much extolled by Tacitus, united to his superior talents, the specious trifles that conciliate favour. *Super experientiam sapientiamque, etiam specie inanum validus.* Annals, xiii. s. 8.



XXXI. Sane ante utriusque exitum, quo egregiam Otho famam, Vitellius flagitiosissimam, meruere, minus Vitellii ignavæ voluptates, quam Othonis flagrantissimæ libidines timebantur. Addiderat huic terrorem atque odium cædes Galbæ; contra illi initium belli nemo inputabat. (*p*) Vitellius ventre et gula sibi ipse hostis; Otho luxu, sævitia, audacia, Reipublicæ exitiosior ducebatur. Coniunctis Cæcinæ ac Valentis copiis, nulla ultra penes Vitellianos mora, quin totis viribus certarent. Otho consultavit, trahi bellum, an fortunam experiri placeret. Tum Suetonius Paullinus, dignum fama sua ratus, qua nemo illa tempestate militaris rei callidior habebatur, de toto genere belli censere, ‘festinationem hostibus, moram ipsis utilem’ diseruit.

XXXII. ‘Exercitum Vitellii universum advenisse: nec ‘multum virium a tergo, quoniam Galliæ tumeant, (*q*) et ‘deserere Rheni ripam, inrupturis tam infestis nationibus, ‘non conducat: Britannicum militem hoste et mari distineri: Hispanias armis non ita redundare: provinciam Narbonensem incursu classis et adverso prælio contremuisse: ‘clausam Alpibus, et nullo maris subsidio, Transpadanam ‘Italiam atque ipso transitu exercitus vastam: non frumentum usquam exercitui nec exercitum sine copiis retineri ‘posse. Jam Germanos, quod genus militum apud hostes ‘atrocissimum sit, tracto in æstatem bello, fluxis corporibus, ‘mutationem soli cælique haud toleraturos. Multa bella, ‘inpetu valida, per tædia et moras evanuisse. Contra ipsis ‘omnia opulenta et fida: Pannoniam, Mœsiam, Dalmatiam, (*r*) Orientem, cum integris exercitibus; Italiam et ‘caput rerum urbem: Senatunque et Populum nunquam ‘obscura nomina, etsi aliquando obumbrentur; publicas ‘privatasque opes et immensam pecuniam, inter civiles discordias ferro validiorem; corpora militum aut Italiæ ‘sueta, aut æstibus: objacere flumen Padum, tutas viris ‘murisque urbes; e quibus nullam hosti cessuram, Placentiæ defensione exploratum. Proinde duceret bellum: ‘paucis diebus quartamdecimam legionem, magna ipsam

*p* Vitellius was of so sluggish a disposition, that he seemed to act under the direction of others, not from the impulse of his own mind.

*q* *Tumeant*. Are ready to commence hostilities.

*r* Pannonia, an extensive country of Europe bounded by Mœsia on the east, by Noricum on the west, Dalmatia, on the south, and by the Danube to the north, containing part of Austria and Hungary.

‘fama, cum Mœsiacis copiis adfore : tum rursus delibera-  
 ‘turum, et, si prælium placuisset, auctis viribus certaturos.’

XXXIII. Accedebat sententiæ Paullini Marius Celsus :  
 ‘idem placere Annio Gallo,’ paucos ante dies lapsu equi  
 adflicto, missi, qui consilium ejus sciscitarentur, retulerant.  
 Otho pronus ad decertandum : frater ejus Titianus, et  
 Præfectus Prætorii Proculus, inperitia properantes, ‘For-  
 ‘tunam et Deos et Numen Othonis adesse consiliis, adfore  
 ‘conatibus,’ testabantur : neu quis obviam ire sententiæ  
 auderet, in adulationem concesserant. Postquam pugnari  
 placitum, ‘interesse pugnae Imperatorem, an seponi me-  
 ‘lius foret,’ dubitavere. Paullino et Celso jam non adver-  
 santibus, ne Principem objectare periculis viderentur,  
 iidem illi deterioris consilii auctores perpulere, ut Brixel-  
 ‘lum (s) concederet, ac, dubiis præliorum exemptus,  
 ‘summæ rerum et Imperii se ipsum reservaret.’ Is pri-  
 mus dies Othonianas partes adflixit : namque et cum ipso  
 Prætoriarum cohortium et speculatorum equitumque valida  
 manus discessit, et remanentium fractus animus : quando  
 suspecti duces, et ut Othoni uni apud militem fides, dum et  
 ipse non nisi militibus credit, imperia ducum in incerto re-  
 liquerat. (t)

XXXIV. Nihil eorum Vitellianos fallebat, crebris, ut in  
 civili bello, transfugiis : et exploratores, cura diversa scis-  
 citandi, sua non occultabant. Quieti intentique Cæcina ac  
 Valens, quando hostis imprudentia rueret, quod loco sapien-  
 tiæ est, alienam stultitiam opperiebantur, inchoato ponte  
 transitum Padi simulantes, adversus oppositam gladiato-  
 rum (u) manum, ac ne ipsorum miles segne otium tereret.  
 Naves, pari inter se spatio, validis utrimque trabibus con-  
 nexæ, adversum in flumen dirigebantur, jactis super anco-  
 ris, quæ firmitatem pontis continerent. Sed ancorarum  
 funes non extenti fluitabant, ut, augescente flumine, inof-  
 fensus ordo navium adtolleretur. Claudebat pontem in-

s *Brixellum*, the town where Otho killed himself after the defeat  
 at *Bedriacum* ; now called *Bresello*, in the territory of *Reggio*.

t The soldiers were faithfully attached to Otho, but suspicious of  
 their other generals, so much so that after Otho left the army, no of-  
 ficer remained who could preserve strict subordination.

u It has been already mentioned that Otho had in his army two  
 thousand gladiators ; a disgraceful expedient, says Tacitus, but in civil  
 wars adopted by the ablest generals. See this book, s. xi.

posita turris et in extremam navem educta : unde tormentis ac machinis hostes propulsarentur.

XXXV. Othoniani in ripa turrim struxerant, saxaque et faces jaculabantur. Et erat insula amne medio, in quam gladiatores navibus molientes, Germani nando prælabebantur. Ac forte plures transgressos, completis Liburnicis, per promptissimos gladiatorum Macer adgreditur. Sed neque ea constantia gladiatoribus ad prœlia, quæ militibus ; nec perinde nutantes e navibus, quam stabili gradu e ripa, vulnera dirigebant. Et, cum variis trepidantium inclinationibus, mixti remiges propugnatoresque turbarentur, desilire in vada ultro Germani, retentare puppes, scandere foros, aut cominus mergere : quæ cuncta, in oculis utriusque exercitus, quanto lætiora Vitellianis, tanto acrius Othoniani caussam auctoremque cladis detestabantur.

XXXVI. Et prœlium quidem, abruptis quæ supererant navibus, fuga diremptum : (v) Macer ad exitium poscebatur. Jamque vulneratum eminus lancea strictis gladiis invaserant, cum intercurso Tribunorum Centurionumque protegitur. Nec multo post Vestricius Spurinna, jussu Othonis, relicto Placentiæ modico præsidio, cum cohortibus subvenit. Dein Flavium Sabinum, Consulem designatum, Otho rectorem copiis misit, quibus Macer præfuerat ; læto milite ad mutationem ducum, et ducibus ob crebras seditiones tam infestam militiam adspersantibus.

XXXVII. Invenio apud quosdam auctores, 'pavore belli, seu fastidio utriusque Principis, quorum flagitia ac dedecus apertiore in dies fama noscebantur, dubitasse exercitus, num, posito certamine, vel ipsi in medium consultarent, vel Senatui permetterent legere Imperatorem. Atque eo duces Othonianos spatium ac moras suasisse, præcipua spe Paullini : quod vetustissimus Consularium, et militia clarus, gloriam nomenque Britannicis expeditionibus meruisset.' Ego, ut concesserim, apud paucos tacito voto quietem pro discordia, bonum et innocentem Principem pro pessimis ac flagitiosisimis expeditum : ita neque Paullinum, qua prudentia fuit, sperasse, corruptissimo sæculo tantam vulgi moderationem, reor, ut, qui pacem belli amore turbaverant, bellum pacis caritate deponerent : neque aut exercitus linguis moribusque dissonos in hunc consensum potuisse coalescere, aut Legatos ac



duces, magna ex parte luxus, egestatis, scelerum sibi conscios, nisi pollutum obstrictumque meritis suis (w) Principem passuros.

XXXVIII. Vetus ac jam pridem insita mortalibus potentiae cupido cum Imperii magnitudine adolevit erupitque. Nam rebus modicis, æqualitas facile habebatur: sed tibi, subacto orbe et æmulis urbibus Regibusque excisis, securas opes concupiscere vacuum fuit, prima inter Patres plebemque certamina exarsere: modo turbulenti Tribuni, modo Consules prævalidi, et in urbe ac foro tentamenta civilium bellorum. Mox e plebe infima C. Marius, et nobilium sævisimus L. Sulla, victam armis libertatem in dominationem verterunt. Post quos Cn. Pompeius occultior, non melior. Et numquam postea, nisi de Principatu quæsitum. Non discessere ab armis in Pharsalia ac Phillippis (x) civium legiones: nedum Othonis ac Vitellii exercitus sponte posituri bellum fuerint: eadem illos deum ira, eadem hominum rabies, eadem scelerum caussæ in discordiam egere. Quod singulis velut ictibus transacta sunt bella, ignavia Principum factum est. Sed me veterum novorumque morum reputatio longius tulit: nunc ad rerum ordinem venio.

XXXIX. Profecto Brixellum Othone, honor Imperii penes Titianum fratrem, vis ac potestas penes Proculum Præfectum. Celsus et Paullinus, cum prudentia eorum nemo uteretur, inani nomine Ducum, alienæ culpæ prætendebantur. Tribuni Centurionesque ambigui, quod, spretis melioribus, deterrimi valebant: miles alacer; qui tamen jussa ducum interpretari, quam exsequi, mallet. Promoveri ad quartum a Bedriaco castra placuit; adeo inperite, ut quamquam verno tempore anni, et tot circum annibus penuria aquæ fatigarentur. Ibi de prælio dubitatum: Othone per litteras flagitante, ut maturarent; militibus, ut Imperator pugnae adesset, poscentibus: plerique copias trans Padum agentes acciri postulabant. Nec perinde dijudicari potest, quid optimum factu fuerit, quam pessimum fuisse, quod factum est.

w *Obstrictum meritis suis*, obligated by their exertions on his account to patronize them however vicious.

x Pharsalia, a town in Thessaly rendered famous by the last battle between Cæsar and Pompey. Phillippi, a city of Macedonia on the confines of Thrace, and famous for the battle fought there between Augustus and the Republican party.

XL. Non ut ad pugnam, sed ad bellandum, profecti, (*y*) confluentes Padi et Adduæ fluminum, sedecim inde millium spatio distantes, petebant. Celso et Paullino abnuentibus, ‘militem itinere fessum, sarcinis gravem, obicere hosti, non admissuro, quo minus expeditus, et vix quatuor millia passuum progressus, aut incompressos in agmine, aut dispersos et vallum molientes adgrederetur.’ (*z*) Titianus et Proculus, ubi consiliis vincerentur, ad jus Imperii transibant. Aderat sane citus equo Numida cum atrocibus mandatis, quibus Otho, increpita ‘ducum segnitia, rem in discrimen mitti’ jubebat; æger mora et spei inpatiens.

XLI. Eadem die, ad Cæcinam, operi pontis intentum, duo Prætoriarum cohortium Tribuni, colloquium ejus postulantes, venerunt. Audire conditiones ac reddere parabat, cum præcipientes exploratores, adesse hostem, nuntiavere. Interruptus Tribunorum sermo: eoque incertum fuit, insidias an prodicionem, vel aliquod honestum consilium cœptaverint. Cæcina, dimissis Tribunis, revec-tus in castra, datum jussu Fabii Valentis pugnae signum et militem in armis invenit. Dum legiones de ordine agminis sortiunter, equites prorupere: et, mirum dictu, a paucioribus Othonianis quo minus in vallum impingerentur, Italicæ legionis virtute deterriti sunt: ea strictis mucronibus, redire pulsos et pugnam resumere coegit. Disposita Vitellianorum legionum acies sine trepidatione: etenim, quamquam vicino hoste, adspectus armorum densis arbustis prohibebatur: apud Othonianos, pavidi duces, miles ducibus infensus, mixta vehicula et lixæ, et, præruptis utrimque fossis, via quieto quoque agmini angusta. Circumsistere alii signa sua, quærere alii: incertus undique clamor adcurrentium, vocitantium: et, ut cuique audacia vel formido, in primam postremamve aciem prorumpebant, vel revehebantur.

XLII. Adtonitas subito terrore mentes falsum gaudium in languorem vertit, repertis, qui ‘descivisse a Vitellio ex-

*y* *Ad pugnam*, to fight, *ad bellandum*, to carry on warlike operations generally. Murphy thinks this the idea of the author. Barbou differs from him. He supposes the sentence means; They went not as if to a doubtful conflict, but believing they were about to end the war by a single victory.

*z* *Expeditus* and *progressus* agree with *exercitus*, understood, *i. e.* of Vitellius; *incompressos dispersos* and *molientes* have reference to their own soldiers.

'ercitum' ementirentur. Is rumor, ab exploratoribus Vitellii dispersus, an in ipsa Othonis parte, seu dolo, seu forte surrexerit, (a) parum compertum. Omisso pugnae ardore, Othoniani ultro salutavere: et hostili murmure excepti, plerisque suorum ignaris, quæ causa salutandi, metum prodicionis fecere, cum incubuit hostium acies, integris ordinibus, robore et numero præstantior: Othoniani, quamquam dispersi, pauciores, fessi, prælium tamen acriter sumpsere: et per locos, arboribus ac vineis impeditos, non una pugnae facies: cominus eminusque catervis et cuneis concurrebant: in aggere viæ conlato gradu, corporibus et umbonibus niti, omisso pilorum jactu, gladiis et securibus galeas loricasque perrumpere: noscentes inter se, ceteris conspicui, in eventum totius belli certabant.

XLIII. Forte inter Padum viamque, patenti campo, duæ legiones congressæ sunt: pro Vitellio unaetvicesima, cui cognomen 'Rapaci,' vetere gloria insignis: e parte Othonis, prima Adjutrix, non ante in aciem deducta, sed ferox et novi decoris avida. Primani, stratis unaetvicesimanorum principiiis, (b) aquilam abstulere: quo dolore accensa legio, et inpulit rursus (c) primanos, interfecto Orphidio Benigno Legato, et plurima signa vexillaque ex hostibus rapuit. A parte alia, propulsa quintanorum inpetu tertiadecima legio: circumventi plurium adcurso quartadecimani. Et, Ducibus Othonis jam pridem profugis, Cæcina ac Valens subsidiis suos firmabant. Accessit recens auxilium, Varus Alphenus cum Batavis, fusa gladiatorum manu, quam, navibus transvectam, oppositæ cohortes in ipso flumine trucidaverant: ita victores latus hostium invecti.

XLIV. Et, media acie perrupta, fugere passim Othoniani, Bedriacum petentes. Imensum id spatium: obstructæ strage corporum viæ: quo plus cædis fuit: neque enim, civilibus bellis, capti in prædam vertuntur. (d) Sue-

a Suetonius expressly says, that Otho, in the last engagement at Bedriacum, was defeated by a stratagem. His soldiers were called out to be present at a general pacification, and, in the very act of saluting the Vitellian army, were suddenly attacked. Sueton. Life of Otho, s. 9.

b Principiis. Those who occupied the front rank. See Ann. 4. 2.

c Rursus, in turn, in like manner.

d In the civil wars no prisoners were made, to be afterwards sold into slavery; and consequently, no quarter was given. Plutarch, in his account of this battle, describes a most dreadful carnage. See the Life of Otho:



tonius Paullinus et Licinius Proculus diversis itineribus, castra vitavere. Vedium Aquilam, tertiædecimæ legionis Legatum, iræ militum inconsultus pavor obtulit: multo adhuc die vallum ingressus, clamore seditiosorum et fugacium circumstrepitur: non probris, non manibus abstinent: 'desertorem proditoremque' increpant: nullo proprio crimine ejus, sed more vulgi, suum quisque flagitium aliis objectantes. Titianum et Celsum nox juvit, dispositis jam excubiis, compressisque militibus, quos Annius Gallus precibus, consilio, auctoritate flexerat, 'ne super cladem ad-versæ pugnæ suismet ipsi cædibus sævirent: sive finis bello venisset, seu resumere arma mallent, unicum victis in consensu levamentum.' Ceteris fractus animus. Prætorianus miles, 'non virtute se, sed proditione victum,' fremebat. 'Ne Vitellianis quidem incruentam fuisse victoriam, pulso equite, rapta legionis aquila: superesse cum ipso Othone militum quod trans Padum fuerit: venire Mœsicas legiones: magnam exercitus partem Bedriaci remansisse: hos certe nondum victos: et, si ita ferret, honestius in acie perituros.' His cogitationibus truces aut pavidi, extrema desperatione ad iram sæpius, quam in formidinem, stimulabantur.

XLV. At Vitellianus exercitus, ad quintum a Bedriaco lapidem consedit, non ausis Ducibus eadem die oppugnationem castrorum: simul voluntaria deditio sperabatur. Sed expeditis, et tantum ad prælium egressis, munimentum fuere arma et victoria. Postera die, haud ambigua Othoniani exercitus voluntate, et, qui ferociores fuerant, ad pœnitentiam inclinantibus, missa legatio: nec apud Duces Vitellianos dubitatum, quo minus pacem concederent. Legati paullisper retenti: ea res hæsitacionem adtulit, ignaris adhuc, an inpetrassent. Mox remissa legatione, patuit vallum. Tum victi victoresque in lacrimas effusi, sortem civilium armorum misera lætitia detestantes. Iisdem tentoriis alii fratrum, alii propinquorum, vulnera fovebant. Spes et præmia in ambiguo: certa, funera et luctus: nec quisquam adeo mali expers, ut non aliquam mortem mæreret. Requisitum Orphidii Legati corpus, honore solito crematur: paucos necessarii ipsorum sepelivere: ceterum vulgus super humum relictum.

XLVI. Opperiebatur Otho nuntium pugnæ, nequaquam trepidus, et consilii certus: mæsta primum fama, dein profugi e prælio perditas res patefaciunt. Non exspectavit

militum ardor vocem Imperatoris: 'bonum habere animum' jubebant: 'superesse adhuc novas vires, et ipsos extrema passuros ausurosque:' neque erat adulatio. Ire in aciem: excitare partium fortunam, furore quodam et instinctu (*e*) flagrabant: qui procul adstiterant, tendere manus, et proximi prensare genua; promptissimo Plotio Firmo. Is Prætorii Præfectus identidem orabat, 'ne fidissimum exercitum, ne optime meritos milites desereret: majore animo tolerari adversa, quam relinqui: fortes et strenuos etiam contra fortunam insistere spei; timidos et ignavos ad desperationem formidine properare. Quas inter voces, ut flexerat vultum, aut induraverat Otho, clamor et gemitus. Nec Prætoriani tantum, proprius Othonis miles, sed præmissi e Mœsia, 'eandem obstinationem adventantis exercitus, legiones Aquileiam ingressas,' nuntiabant: ut nemo dubitet, potuisse renovari bellum atrox, lugubre, incertum victis et victoribus.

XLVII. Ipse aversus a consiliis belli, (*f*) 'hunc,' inquit, 'animum, hanc virtutem vestram ultra periculis objicere, nimis grande vitæ meæ pretium puto. Quanto plus spei ostenditis, si vivere placeret, tanto pulchrior mors erit. Experti invicem sumus, ego ac Fortuna: nec tempus computaveritis: difficilius est temperare felicitati, quam te non putes diu usurum. Civile bellum a Vitellio cœpit, et, ut de Principatu certaremus armis, initium illic fuit: ne plusquam semel certemus, penes me exemplum erit: hinc Othonem posteritas æstimet. Fruetur Vitellius fratre, conjuge, liberis: mihi non ultione, neque solatiis opus est. Alii diutius Imperium tenuerint: nemo tam fortiter reliquerit. An ego tantum Romanæ pubis, tot egregios exercitus, sterni rursus, et Reipublicæ eripi patiar? Eat hic mecum animus, tamquam perituri pro me fueritis: sed este superstites: nec diu moremur, ego incolumitatem vestram, vos constantiam meam. Plura de extremis loqui, pars ignaviæ est: præcipuum destinationis meæ documentum habete, quod de nemine queror: nam incusare Deos vel homines, ejus est, qui vivere velit.'

XLVIII. Talia locutus, ut cuique ætas aut dignitas, comi-

*e* Furore quodam et instinctu, for, quodam instinctu furoris.

*f* Tacitus has told us that Otho's mind was not like his body, dissolved in luxury. Hist. i. s. 22. His speech on this occasion shows that he could think with dignity.

ter adpellatos, 'irent propere, neu remanendo iram victoris 'asperarent,' juvenes auctoritate, senes precibus movebat: placidus ore, intrepidus verbis, intempestivas suorum lacrimas coercens. 'Dari naves ac vehicula' abeuntibus jubet: libellos epistolasque, studio erga se aut in Vitellium contumeliis insignes, abolet: pecunias distribuit, parce, nec ut periturus. Mox Salvium Cocceianum, fratris filium, prima juvenia, trepidum et mærentem, ultro solatus est, laudando, 'pietatem' ejus, castigando 'formidinem: an 'Vitellium tam inmitis animi fore, ut, pro incolumi tota domo, ne hanc quidem sibi gratiam redderet? mereri se 'festinato exitu clementiam victoris. Non enim ultima 'desperatione, sed poscente prælium exercitu, remisisse 'Reipublicæ novissimum casum. Satis sibi nominis, satis 'posteris suis nobilitatis quæsitum: post Julios, Claudios, Servios, (g) se primum in familiam novam Imperium intulisse: proinde erecto animo capesseret vitam, neu, patrum sibi Othonem fuisse, aut oblivisceretur unquam, aut 'nimiam meminisset.'

XLIX. Post quæ, dimotis omnibus, paullum requievit: atque illum, supremas jam curas animo volutantem, repens tumultus avertit, nuntiata consternatione ac licentia militum: namque abeuntibus exitium minitabantur; atrocissima in Verginium (h) vi, quem, clausa domo, obsidebant: increpitis seditionis auctoribus, regressus, vacavit abeuntium adloquiis, donec omnes inviolati digrederentur. Vesperascente die, sitim haustu gelidæ aquæ sedavit: tum adlatis pugionibus duobus, cum utrumque pertentasset, alterum capiti subdidit: et explorato, jam profectos amicos, noctem quietam, utque adfirmatur, non insomnem egit. Luce prima, in ferrum pectore incubuit: ad gemitum morientis ingressi liberti servique et Plotius Firmus, Prætorii Præfectus, unum vulnus invenere. Funus maturatum ambitiosis id precibus petierat, 'ne amputaretur caput, (i)

g Augustus, Tiberius and Caligula, were of the Julian line; Claudius and Nero (by adoption) were of the Claudian; Galba was of the house of Servius; Otho of the Salvian family.

h This was Verginius Rufus, who conquered Vindex, in Gaul, and had the moderation to decline the imperial dignity when offered him by the legions.

i Nero, in his last distress, fearing that his head would be exhibited as a public spectacle, gave directions for his funeral. Otho did the same: though tainted with Nero's vices, he closed the scene with dignity.



‘ludibrio futurum.’ Tulere corpus Prætoriae cohortes, cum laudibus et lacrimis, vulnus manusque ejus exosculantes. Quidam militum, juxta rogum interfecere se; non noxa, neque ob metum, sed æmulatione decoris et caritate Principis: ac postea promiscue Bedriaci, Placentiæ aliisque in castris, celebratum id genus mortis. Othoni sepulcrum exstructum est modicum et mansurum.

L. Hunc vitæ finem habuit septimo et tricesimo ætatis anno. Origo illi e municipio Ferentino. Pater Consularis: avus Prætorius: maternum genus inpar, nec tamen indecorum: pueritia ac juvenia, qualem, monstravimus, duobus facinoribus, (*j*) altero flagitiosissimo, altero egregio, tantundem apud posteros meruit bonæ famæ, quantum malæ. Ut conquirere fabulosa, et fictis oblectare legentium animos, procul gravitate cœpti operis crediderim: ita vulgatis traditisque demere fidem non ausim. ‘Die, quæ Bedriaci certabatur, avem invisitata specie apud Regium ‘Lepidum (*k*) celebri loco consedisse,’ incolæ memorant, ‘nec deinde cœtu hominum, aut circumvolitantium alitum, ‘territam pulsamve, donec Otho se ipse interficeret: tum ‘ablatam ex oculis: et tempora reputantibus, initium finem- ‘que miraculi cum Othonis exitu compertisse.’

LI. In funere ejus, novata luctu ac dolore militum seditio: nec erat, qui coerceret. Ad Verginium versi, modo, ‘ut reciperet Imperium,’ nunc, ‘ut legatione apud Cæci- ‘nam ac Valentem fungeretur,’ minitantes orabant. Verginius, per aversam domus partem furtim degressus, irrumpentes frustratus est. Earum, quæ Brixelli egerant, cohortium preces Rubrius Gallus tulit. Et venia statim impetrata, concedentibus ad victorem, per Flavium Sabinum, iis copiis, quibus præfuerat.

LII. Posito ubique bello, magna pars Senatus extremum discrimen adiit, profecta cum Othone ab urbe, dein Mutinæ relicta: illuc adverso de prælio adlatum: sed milites, ut falsum rumorem adversantes, quod infensum Othoni Senatum arbitrabantur, custodire sermones, vultum habitumque trahere in deterius: conviciis postremo ac probris caussam et initium cædis quærebant: cum alius insuper metus Senatoribus instaret, ne, prævalidis jam Vitellii partibus, cunctanter accepisse victoriam crederentur: ita tre-

*j* The murder of Galba, and his own death.

*k* Regium Lepidum, now called Reggio, not far from Brixellum.

pidi et utrimque anxii coeunt : nemo privatim expedito consilio, inter multos societate culpæ tutior. Onerabat paventium curas ordo Mutinensis, (*l*) ‘arma et pecuniam’ offerendo, adpellabatque ‘Patres Conscriptos,’ intempestivo honore.

LIII. Notabile jurgium inde fuit, quo Licinius Cæcina Marcellum Eprium, ‘ut ambigua disserentem,’ (*m*) invasit. Nec ceteri sententias aperiebant : sed invisum memoria delationum, expositumque ad invidiam, Marcelli nomen irritaverat Cæcinam, ut novus adhuc, et in Senatum nuper adscitus, magnis inimicitiis claresceret. Moderatione meliorum dirempti. Et rediere omnes Bononiam, rursus consiliaturi : (*n*) simul, medio temporis, plures nuntii sperabantur. Bononiæ, divisus per itinera, qui recentissimum quemque percunctarentur, interrogatus Othonis libertus ‘causam digressus, habere se suprema ejus mandata’ respondit : ‘ipsum viventem quidem relictum, sed sola posteritatis cura et abruptis vitæ blandimentis.’ Hinc admiratio et plura interrogandi pudor : atque omnium animi in Vitellium inclinavere.

LIV. Intereat consiliis frater ejus L. Vitellius, seque jam adulantibus offerebat, cum repente Cœnus, libertus Neronis, atroci mendacio universos perculit, adfirmans, ‘superventu quartædecimæ legionis, junctis a Brixello viribus, cæsos victores, versam partium fortunam.’ Causa fingendi fuit, ut diplomata (*o*) Othonis, quæ negligebantur, lætiore nuntio revalerent. Et Cœnus quidem rapide in urbem vectus, paucos post dies jussu Vitellii pœnas luit. Senatorum periculum auctum, credentibus Othonianis militibus vera esse, quæ adferebantur. Intendebat formidinem, quod publici consilii facie discessum Mutina, desertæque partes forent. Nec ultra in commune congressi, sibi quisque consulere : donec missæ a Fabio Valente epistolæ demerent metum. Et mors Othonis, quo laudabilior, eo velocius audita.

*l* Ordo Mutinensis, the public council of the city.

*m* Ambigua disserentem, making use of doubtful or ambiguous expressions.

*n* Rursus consiliaturi. Ryckius gives consultiuri.

*o* Diplomata, were writs conferring any exclusive right or privilege, granted by the Emperor, or any Roman magistrate, similar to what we call letters patent; given particularly to public couriers, or to those who wished to have the use of public horses or carriages for dispatch; in which last sense it is here used.

LV. At Romæ nihil trepidationis : Cereales ludi (*p*) ex more spectabantur. Ut cessisse vita Othonem, et a Flavio Sabino, Præfecto urbis, quod erat in urbe militum, 'sacramento Vitellii adactum,' certi auctores in theatrum attulerunt, 'Vitellio' plausere : populus cum lauru ac floribus Galbæ imagines circum templa tulit, congestis in modum tumuli coronis, juxta lacum Curtii, quem locum Galba moriens sanguine infecerat. In Senatu cuncta, longis aliorum Principatibus composita, statim decernuntur. Additæ 'erga Germanicos exercitus laudes gratesque,' et missa legatio, quæ gaudio fungeretur. Recitata Fabii Valentis epistolæ, ad Consules scriptæ hæud immoderate : gratior Cæcinæ modestia fuit, quod non scripsisset.

LVI. Ceterum Italia gravius atque atrocius, quam bello, afflictabatur : dispersi per municipia et colonias Vitelliani, spoliare, rapere, vi et stupris polluere : in omne fas nefasque avidi aut venales, (*q*) non sacro, non profano abstinabant. Et fuere, qui inimicos suos, specie militum, interficerent. Ipsique milites, regionum gnari, refertos agros, dites dominos, in prædam, aut, si repugnatum foret, ad excidium destinabant : obnoxiiis ducibus et prohibere non ausis : minus avaritiæ in Cæcina, plus ambitionis : Valens, ob lucra et quæstus infamis, eoque alienæ etiam culpæ dissimulator. (*r*) Jam pridem adtrititis Italiæ rebus, tantum peditum equitumque, vis damnaque et injuriæ, ægre tolerabantur.

LVII. Interim Vitellius, victoriæ suæ nescius, ut ad integrum bellum, reliquas Germanici exercitus vires trahebat. Pauci veterum militum in hibernis relictis, festinatis per Gallias delectibus, ut remanentium legionum nomina supplerentur Cura ripæ (*s*) Hordeonio Flacco permissa : ipse e Britannico delectu octo millia sibi adjunxit : et, paucorum dierum iter progressus, 'prosperas apud Bedriacum' res, ac morte Othonis concidisse bellum, accepit. Vocata concione, virtutem militum laudibus cumulat. Postulan-

*p* *Cereales ludi*, were festivals in honour of Ceres, continuing from the 12th to the 19th of April. Otho was Emperor ninety-five days; from the 15th of January to the 19th of April.

*q* *Avidi aut venales*; influenced by their own avarice, or hired by others.

*r* Valens had become infamous by his rapacity, and was therefore obliged to connive when he saw his own vices practised by others.

*s* *Cura ripæ. i. e.* of the Rhine, lest the Germans should pass over



te exercitu, 'ut libertum suum, Asiaticum, Equestri dignitate donaret,' inhonestam adulationem compescit. Dein, mobilitate ingenii, quod palam abnuerat, inter secreta convivii largitur; honoravitque Asiaticum annulis, fœdum mancipium et malis artibus ambitiosum.

LVIII. Iisdem diebus, 'accessisse partibus utramque Mauretaniam, interfecto Procuratore Albino,' nuntii venere. Luceius Albinus, a Nerone Mauretaniæ Cæsariensi præpositus, addita per Galbam Tingitanæ provinciæ administratione, haud spernendis viribus agebat. Novemdecim cohortes, quinque alæ, ingens Maurorum numerus aderat, per latrocinia et raptus apta bello manus. Cæso Galba, in Othonem pronus, nec Africa contentus, Hispaniæ, angusto freto (*t*) diremptæ, imminebat. Inde Cluvio Rufo metus: 'et decimam legionem propinquare litori,' ut transmissurus, jussit: præmissi Centuriones, qui Maurorum animos Vitellio conciliarent: neque arduum fuit, magna per provincias Germanici exercitus fama. Spargebatur insuper, 'spreto' Procuratoris 'vocabulo, Albinum insigne Regis,' et Jubæ 'nomen usurpare.'

LIX. Ita mutatis animis, Asinius Pollio, alæ Præfectus, e fidissimis Albino, et Festus ac Scipio, cohortium Præfecti, opprimuntur. Ipse Albinus, dum e Tingitana provincia Cæsariensem Mauretaniam petit, adpulsus litori trucidatur: uxor ejus, cum se percussoribus obtulisset, simul interfecta est: nihil eorum, quæ fierent, Vitellio anquirente: brevi auditu quamvis magna transibat, inpar curis gravioribus. 'Exercitum itinere terrestri pergere' jubet: ipse Arare flumine (*u*) devehitur, nullo Principali paratu, sed vetere egestate conspicuus: (*v*) donec Junius Blæsus, Lugdunensis Galliæ Rector, genere inlustri, largus animo et par opibus, circumdaret Principi ministeria, comitaretur liberaliter; eo ipso ingratus, quamvis odium Vitellius vernilibus blanditiis velaret. Præsto fuere Lugduni victricium victarumque partium duces. Valentem et Cæcinam, pro concione laudatos, curuli suæ circumposuit. Mox 'universum exercitum occurrere infanti filio' jubet: perlatumque et paludamento opertum sinu retinens, 'Germanicum' adpellavit, cinxitque cunctis fortunæ Principalis insignibus: nimius

*t* *Angusto freto*; the straits of Gibraltar.

*u* *Arar*; a river of Gaul; now the *Saône*.

*v* For the extreme poverty of Vitellius, see Suet. in Vitel. s. 7.

honos inter secunda, rebus adversis (w) in solatium cessit.

LX. Tum interfecti Centuriones promptissimi Othonianorum : unde præcipua in Vitellium alienatio per Illyricos exercitus. Simul ceteræ legiones contactu, et adversus Germanicos milites invidia, bellum meditabantur. Suetonium Paullinum ac Licinium Proculum, tristi mora squalidos tenuit, donec auditi, necessariis magis defensionibus quam honestis uterentur. Proditionem ultro inputabant : ' spatium longi ante prælium itineris, fatigationem Othonianorum, permixtum vehiculis agmen, ac pleraque fortuita, ta, fraudi suæ' adsignantes, et Vitellius credidit de perfidia, et fidem absolvit. (x) Salvius Titianus, Othonis frater, nullum discrimen adiit, pietate et ignavia excusatus. Mario Celso Consulatus servatur : sed creditum fama, objectumque mox in Senatu Cæcilio Simplici, ' quod eum honorem pecunia mercari, nec sine exitio Celsi, voluisset : ' restitit Vitellius ; deditque postea Consulatum Simplici innoxium et inemptum. Trachalum adversus criminantes Galeria, uxor Vitellii, protexit.

LXI. Inter magnorum virorum discrimina (pudendum dictu) Mariccus quidam, e plebe Boiorum, inserere sese Fortunæ et provocare arma Romana, simulatione Numinum ausus est. Jamque ' adsertor Galliarum et Deus' (nomen id sibi indiderat) concitis octo millibus hominum, proximos Æduorum pagos trahebat ; cum gravissima civitas, electa juventute, adjectis a Vitellio cohortibus, fanaticam multitudinem disjecit. Captus in eo prælio Mariccus ac mox feris objectus, quia non laniabatur, stolidum vulgus inviolabilem credebat, donec, spectante Vitellio, interfectus est.

LXII. Nec ultra in defectores, aut bona cujusquam, sævitum : rata fuere eorum, qui acie Othoniana ceciderant, testamenta, aut lex intestatis : prorsus, si luxuriæ temperaret, avaritiam non timeres. Epularum fœda et inexplibilis libido : (y) ex urbe atque Italia inritamenta gulæ gestaban-

w A short time after he had been decorated with the insignia of royalty, he was put to death by the order of Mucianus.

x Paullinus and Proculus sought a pardon from Vitellius on the ground that they had been treacherous to Otho ; and Vitellius, *credidit de perfidia*, gave them credit for their guilt, *et fidem absolvit*, and pardoned their fidelity ; i. e. to Otho.

y Whoever desires to know more of the gluttony of Vitellius, may

tur, strepentibus ab utroque mari (z) itineribus : exhausti conviviorum adparatibus principes civitatum : vastabantur ipsæ civitates : degenerabat a labore ac virtute miles, ad-suetudine voluptatum et contemptu Ducis. Præmisit in urbem edictum, quo vocabulum ‘Augusti’ differret, ‘Cæsaris’ non reciperet, cum de potestate nihil detraheret. Pulsi Italia mathematici. Cautum severe, ‘ne Equites Rom. ‘ludo et arena polluerentur :’ (a) priores id Principes pecunia et sæpius vi perpulerant : ac pleraque municipia et coloniæ æmulabantur, corruptissimum quemque adolescentium pretio illicere.

LXIII. Sed Vitellius, adventu fratris, (b) et inrepentibus dominationis magistris, superbior et atrocior, occidi Dolabellam jussit, quem in coloniam Aquinatem sepositum ab Othone, retulimus. (c) Dolabella, audita morte Othonis, urbem introierat : id ei Plancius Varus, Prætura functus, ex intimis Dolabellæ amicis, apud Flavium Sabinum, Præfectum urbis, objecit, ‘tamquam rupta custodia, Ducem se ‘victis partibus ostentasset :’ addidit, ‘tentatam cohortem, ‘quæ Ostiæ ageret :’ nec ullis tantorum criminum probationibus : in pœnitentiam versus seram, veniam post scelus quærebat. Cunctantem super tanta re Flavium Sabinum, Triaria, L. Vitellii, uxor, ultra feminam ferox, terruit, ne ‘periculo Principis famam clementiæ adfectaret.’ (d) Sabinus, suoapte ingenio mitis, ubi formido incessisset, facilis mutatu, et in alieno discrimine sibi pavens, ne adlevasse videretur, impulit ruentum.

LXIV. Igitur Vitellius, metu et odio, quod Petroniam, uxorem ejus, mox Dolabella in matrimonium accepisset, vocatum per epistolas, ‘vitata Flaminiae viæ celebritate, de- ‘vertere Interamnium atque ibi interfeci’ jussit. Longum interfectori visum : in itinere ac taberna projectum humi jugulavit : magna cum invidia novi Principatus, cujus hoc

find a number of particular instances collected by Brotier, in his fourth edition of Tacitus, vol. iii. page 433.

z *Utroque mare*, the Adriatic and the Tyrrhenian seas.

a It had become customary for the knights to fight like common gladiators, and exhibit themselves on the public stage. Vitellius wished to put an end to the degrading practice.

b This was Lucius Vitellius, whom we have seen with the senators at Bononia. This book, s. 54.

c *Retulimus*; see Hist. i. 83.

d *Ne periculo*, etc. that he should not seek the fame of clemency by sacrificing the interests of the Prince.



primum specimen noscebatur. Et Triariæ licentiam modestum e proximo exemplum onerabat, Galeria Imperatoris uxor, non inmixta tristibus : (e) et pari probitate mater Vitelliorum, Sextilia, antiqui moris. Dixisse quin etiam, ad primas filii sui epistolas, ferebatur, ‘non Germanicum a se, ‘sed Vitellium genitum.’ Nec ullis postea fortunæ inlecebris, aut ambitu civitatis, in gaudium evicta, (f) domus suæ tantum adversa sensit.

LXV. Digressum a Lugduno Vitellium M. Cluvius Rufus adsequitur, omissa Hispania ; lætitiā et gratulationem vultu ferens, animo anxius et petītum se criminationibus gnarus. Hilarius, Cæsaris libertus, detulerat, ‘tamquam, audito Vitellii et Othonis Principatu, propriam ipse potentiam et possessionem Hispaniarum tentasset : eoque diplomatis (g) nullum Principem præscripsisset.’ Interpretabatur quædam ex orationibus ejus, contumeliosa in Vitellium, et pro se ipso popularia. Auctoritas Cluvii prævaluit, ut puniri ultro libertum suum Vitellius juberet. Cluvius comitatu Principis adjectus, non adempta Hispania, quam rexit absens, exemplo L. Arruntii : eum Tiberius Cæsar ob metum, Vitellius Clavium nulla formidine retinebat. Non idem Trebellio Maximo phonos : profugerat Britannia, ob iracundiam militum : missus est in locum ejus Vettius Bolanus e præsentibus.

LXVI. Angebat Vitellium victarum legionum haudquam fractus animus : sparsæ per Italiam et victoribus permixtæ, hostilia loquebantur : præcipua quartadecimanorum ferocia, qui ‘se victos’ abnuebant : ‘quippe Bedriacensi acie, vexillariis tantum pulsus, vires legionis non adfuisse.’ Remitti eos in Britanniam, unde a Nerone exciti erant, placuit ; atque interim Batavorum cohortes una tendere, ob veterem adversus quartadecimanos discordiam. Nec diu, in tantis armatorum odiis, quies fuit. Augustæ Taurinorum, (h) dum opificem quendam Batavus ut fraudatorum

e *Non inmixta tristibus*, taking no part in any wicked design.

f *Nec ullis postea, etc.* She was not elated by the smiles of fortune or the flattery of the citizens ; she was affected only by the misfortunes of her family.

g *Diplomatibus*, see s. 54th of this book.

h *Augustæ Taurinorum*. The Taurini were a people dwelling at the foot of the Alps. Their capital was called after Augustus Cæsar *Augustæ Taurinorum*, who planted a colony there. The modern name is Turin, the capital of Piedmont.

insectatur, legionarius ut hospitem tuetur, sui cuique com-  
 militones adgregati, a conviciis ad cædem transiere: et præ-  
 lium atrox exarsisset, ni duæ Prætoris cohortes, caussam  
 quartadecimanorum secutæ, his fiduciam et metum Batavis  
 fecissent: 'quos' Vitellius 'agmini suo jungi,' ut fidos, 'le-  
 gionem, Graiis Alpibus traductam, eo flexu itineris ire'  
 jubet, 'quo Viennam vitarent:' namque et Viennenses ti-  
 mebantur. Nocte, qua proficiscebatur legio, relictis passim  
 ignibus, pars Taurinæ Colonis ambusta: quod damnum,  
 ut pleraque belli mala, majoribus aliarum urbium cladibus  
 obliteratum. Quartadecimani postquam Alpibus degressi  
 sunt, seditiosissimus quisque signa Viennam ferebant: con-  
 sensu meliorum compressi et legio in Britanniam transvecta.

LXVII. Proximus Vitellio e Prætoris cohortibus metus  
 erat: separati primum, deinde, additæ honestæ missionis  
 lenimento, arma ad Tribunos suos deferebant: donec mo-  
 tum a Vespasiano bellum crebresceret: tum, resumpta mi-  
 litia, robur Flavianarum partium fuere. Prima classicorum  
 legio in Hispaniam missa, ut pace et otio mitesceret: Unde-  
 cima ac septima suis hibernis redditæ: Tertiadecimani stru-  
 ere amphitheatra jussi: nam Cæcina Cremonæ, Valens  
 Bononiæ, spectaculum gladiatorum edere parabant: num-  
 quam ita ad curas intento Vitellio, ut voluptatum oblivisce-  
 retur.

LXVIII. Et quidem partes (*i*) modeste distraxerat: apud  
 victores orta seditio, ludicro initio, nisi numerus cæsorū  
 invidiam bello auxisset. Discubuerat Vitellius Ticini, ad-  
 hibito ad epulas Verginio. Legatī Tribunique, ex moribus  
 Imperatorum, severitatem æmulantur, vel tempestivis con-  
 viviiis gaudent: perinde miles intentus, aut licenter agit.  
 Apud Vitellium omnia indisposita, temulenta, pervigiliis ac  
 Bacchanalibus, (*j*) quam disciplinæ et castris, propiora.  
 Igitur duobus militibus, altero legionis quintæ, altero e Gal-  
 lis auxiliaribus, per lasciviam, ad certamen luctandi accen-  
 sis, postquam legionarius prociderat, insultante Gallo, et  
 iis, qui ad spectandum convenerant, in studia diductis, eru-

*i* *Partes*, the forces which had favoured Otho.

*j* The *Bacchanalia*, or sacred rites of Bacchus were celebrated every third year in the night time, when the most shameful excesses were committed. *Pervigiliæ* were nightly assemblies of the same nature in honour of some god. Tacitus means that the soldiers of Vitellius seemed rather a Bacchanalian assembly than a disciplined army.

pere legionarii in perniciem auxiliorum, ac duæ cohortes interfectæ. Remedium tumultus fuit alius tumultus, pulvis procul et arma adspiciebantur : conclamatum repente, ‘ quar- tamdecimam legionem, verso itinere, ad prælium venire : ’ sed erant agminis coactores : agniti dempsere sollicitudinem. Interim Verginii servus forte obvius, ut ‘ percussor Vitellii ’ insimulatur : et ruebat ad convivium miles, ‘ mortem Verginii ’ exposcens. Ne Vitellius quidem, quamquam ad omnes suspiciones pavidus, de innocentia ejus dubitavit : ægre tamen cohibiti, qui exitium viri Consularis, et quondam Ducis sui, flagitabant. Nec quemquam sæpius, quam Verginium, omnis seditio infestavit : manebat admiratio viri et fama : sed aderant, ut fastiditi.

LXIX. Postero die, Vitellius, Senatus, legatione, quam ibi opperiri jusserat, audita, transgressus in castra, ultro ‘ pietatem militum ’ conlaudavit : frementibus auxiliis, ‘ tantum inpunitionis atque adrogantiæ legionariis, accessisse. ’ Cohortes Batavorum, ne quid truculentius auderent, in Germaniam remissæ : principium interno simul externoque bello parantibus fatis. (*k*) Reddita civitatibus Gallorum auxilia, ingens numerus, et prima statim defectione inter inania belli (*l*) adsumptus. Ceterum, ut largitionibus adfectæ jam Imperii opes sufficerent, ‘ amputari legionum ’ auxiliorumque numeros ’ jubet, vetitis supplementis : et promiscuæ missiones offerebantur : exitiabile id Reipublicæ, ingratum militi, cui eadem munia inter paucos, periculaque ac labor crebrius redibant, et vires luxu conrumpebantur, contra veterem disciplinam, et instituta majorum ; apud quos virtute, quam pecunia, res Romana melius stetit.

LXX. Inde Vitellius Cremonam flexit, et, spectato munere Cæcinæ, insistere Bedriacensibus campis, ac vestigia recentis victoriæ lustrare oculis concupivit. Fœdum atque atrox spectaculum : intra quadragesimum pugnæ diem lacerata corpora, trunci artus, putres virorum equorumque formæ, infecta tabo humus, protritæ arboribus ac frugibus diravastitas : nec minus inhumana pars viæ, (*m*) quam Cremona-

*k* Interno—externoque bello. The foreign war was with the Batavians, under Civilis ; the domestic, with Vespasian.

*l* Et prima—adsumptus. Drawn together in the beginning of the revolt, for vain parade, to swell the pomp of a numerous army.

*m* Nec minus inhumana pars viæ. Tacitus thinks it argues a want



nenses lauro rosisque constraverant, exstructis altaribus cæsisque victimis, Regium in morem : quæ, læta in præsens, mox perniciem ipsis fecere. Aderant Valens et Cæcina, monstrabantque pugnæ locos : ‘ hinc inrupisse legionum ‘ agmen, hinc equites coortos : inde circumfusas auxiliorum ‘ manus.’ Jam Tribuni Præfectique, sua quisque facta extollentes ; falsa, vera, aut majora vero miscebant. Vultus quoque militum, clamore et gaudio deflectere via, spatia certaminum recognoscere, aggerem armorum, strues corporum intueri, mirari. Et erant, quos varia sors rerum, lacrimæque et misericordia subiret : at non Vitellius flexit oculos, nec tot millia insepultorum civium exhorruit : lætus ultro, et tam propinquæ sortis ignarus, instaurabat sacrum Diis loci.

LXXI. Exin Bononiæ a Fabio Valente gladiatorum spectaculum editur, advecto ex urbe cultu. Quantoque magis propinquabat, tanto corruptius iter, inmixtis histionibus et cetero Neronianæ aulæ ingenio : namque et Neronem ipsum Vitellius admiratione celebrabat, sectari cantantem solitus, non necessitate, qua honestissimus quisque, sed luxu et saginæ mancipatus emptusque. Ut Valenti et Cæcinæ vacuos honoris menses aperiret, coarctati aliorum Consulatus, dissimulatus Martii Macri, (n) namquam Othonianarum partium Ducis : et Valerium Marinum, destinatum a Galba Consulem, distulit, nulla offensa, sed mitem et injuriam segniter laturum. Pedanius Costa omittitur, ingratus Principi, ut adversus Neronem ausus, et Verginii exstimulator : sed alias protulit causas : actæque insuper Vitellio gratiæ, consuetudine servitii.

LXXII. Non ultra paucos dies, quamquam acribus initiis cœptum, mendacium valuit. Exstiterat quidam, ‘ Scribonianum se Camerinum (o) ferens, Neronianorum temporum metu in Istria occultatum, quod illic clientelæ et agri ‘ veterum Crassorum ac nominis favor manebat.’ Igitur deterrimo quoque in argumentum fabulæ adsumpto, vulgus credulum et quidam militum, errore veri, seu barbarum stu-

of humanity in the people of Cremona, because they strewed the way with laurels and roses, after so terrible a carnage and amidst the horrors that covered the face of the country.

n Martius Macer commanded the gladiators of Otho on the banks of the Po. This book, s. 28.

o Sulpicius Camerinus and his son were put to death by the order of Helius Nero's freedman, A. U. C. 820.

dio, certatim adgregabantur : cum pertractus ad Vitellium interrogatusque, 'quisnam mortalium esset,' postquam nulla dictis fides, et a domino noscebatur, conditione fugitivus, nomine 'Geta,' sumptum de eo supplicium servilem in modum. (*p*)

LXXIII. Vix credibile memoratu est, quantum superbix socordixque Vitellio adoleverit, postquam speculatores e Syria Judæaque, 'adactum in verba ejus Orientem,' nuntiavere. Nam, etsi vagis adhuc et incertis auctoribus, erat tamen in ore famaue Vespasianus, ac plerumque ad nomen ejus Vitellius excitabatur. Tum ipse, exercitusque, ut nullo æmulo, sævitia, libidine, raptu, in externos mores proruperant.

LXXIV. At Vespasianus bellum armaque, et procul vel juxta sitas vires, circumspectabat. Miles ipsi adeo paratus, ut præeuntem sacramentum, (*q*) et fausta Vitellio omnia precantem, per silentium audierint. Muciani animus nec Vespasiano alienus, et in Titum pronior. Præfectus Ægypti, Ti. Alexander, consilia sociaverat. Tertiam legionem, quod e Syria in Moesiam transisset, suam numerabat: ceteræ Illyrici legiones secuturæ sperabantur. Namque omnes exercitus flammaverat adrogantia venientium a Vitellio militum; quod truces corpore, horridi sermone, ceteros, ut in pares, inridebant. Sed in tanta mole belli plerumque cunctatio: et Vespasianus, modo in spem erectus, aliquando adversa reputabat: 'Quis ille dies foret, quo sexaginta ætatis an nos et duos filios juvenes (*r*) bello permetteret? Esse privatis cogitationibus progressum, et, prout velint, plus minusve sumi ex Fortuna: Imperium cupientibus nihil medium inter summa et præcipitia.'

LXXV. Versabatur ante oculos Germanici exercitus robur, notum viro militari: 'Suas legiones civili bello inextertas; Vitellii, victrices; et apud victos plus querimoniæ, quam virium: fluxam per discordias militum fidem, et periculum ex singulis. Quid enim profuturas cohortes alasque, si unus alterque præsentī facinori paratum ex diverso præmium petat? Sic Scribonianum sub Claudio interfectum: sic percussorem ejus, Volaginium, e gregario

*p* Slaves, when condemned to death, were crucified.

*q* *Præeuntem sacramentum*; first to take the oath.

*r* Vespasian's two sons, Titus and Domitian.

‘ad summa militiæ provectum. Facilius universos inPELLI,  
‘quam singulos vitari.

LXXVI. His pavoribus nutantem, et alii Legati amicique firmabant, et Mucianus, post multos secretosque sermones, jam et coram (s) ita locutus : ‘Omnes, qui magnarum rerum  
‘consilia suscipiunt, æstimare debent, an, quod inchoatur,  
‘Reipublicæ utile, ipsis gloriosum, aut promptum effectu,  
‘aut certe non arduum sit. Simul ipse, qui suadet, considerandus est, adjiciatne consilio periculum suum : et, si Fortuna cœptis adfuerit, cui summum decus adquiratur. Ego  
‘te, Vespasiane, ad Imperium voco, tam salutare Reipublicæ, quam tibi magnificum. Juxta Deos, in tua manu positum est. Nec speciem adulantis expaveris : a contumelia,  
‘quam a laude propius fuerit, post Vitellium, eligi. (t) Non  
‘adversus D. Augusti acerrimam mentem, nec adversus caustissimam Tiberii senectutem, ne contra Caii quidem, aut  
‘Claudii, vel Neronis, fundatam longo Imperio domum exsurgimus : cessisti etiam Galbæ imaginibus : torpere ultra,  
‘et polluendam perdendamque Rempublicam relinquere,  
‘sopor et ignavia videretur, etiam si tibi, quam inhonesta, tam tuta servitus esset. Abiit jam et transvectum est tempus, quo posses videri concupisse : confugiendum est ad  
‘Imperium. (u) An excidit trucidatus Corbulo ? (v) splendidior origine, quam nos sumus, fateor : sed et Nero, nobilitate natalium, Vitellium anteibat. Satis clarus est apud  
‘timentem, quisquis timetur. Et posse ab exercitu Principem fieri, sibi ipse Vitellius documento ; nullis stipendiis,  
‘nullo militari fama, Galbæ odio provectus. Nec Othonem quidem Ducis arte, aut exercitus vi, sed præpropera ipsius  
‘desperatione victum, jam desiderabilem et magnum Principem fecit. Cum interim spargit legiones, exarmat cohortes, nova quotidie bello semina (w) ministrat : si quid  
‘ardoris ac ferociæ miles habuit, popinis et comissionibus

s *Jam ei coram.* Many being present—publicly.

t *A contumelia—eligi.* To be elected Emperor after Vitellius, is rather a disgrace than an honour.

u *Abiit jam—imperium.* Murphy translates this sentence ; But ambition is not now imputed to you for the first time. You have been long suspected, and nothing remains but vigorous enterprise.

v *Corbulo was put to death by Nero.*

w *Nova bello semina.* Thus he calls the legions and cohorts which had been disbanded by Vitellius, and were, on this account, enraged against him.



et Principis imitatione, deteritur. Tibi e Judæa et Syria et Ægypto novem legiones integræ, nulla acie exhaustæ, non discordia corruptæ : sed firmatus usu miles, et belli domitor externi : classium, alarum, cohortium robora ; et fidissimi Reges : et tua ante omnes experientia.’

LXXVII. ‘Nobis nihil ultra adrogabo, quam ne post Valentem ac Cæcinam numeremur. Ne tamen Mucianum socium spreveris, quia æmulum non experiris : me Vitellio antepono, te mihi. Tuæ domui triumphale nomen, duo juvenes, capax jam Imperii alter, et primis militiæ annis apud Germanicos quoque exercitus clarus. (x) Absurdum fuerit, non cedere Imperio ei, cujus filium adoptaturus essem, si ipse imperarem. Ceterum inter nos non idem prosperarum adversarumque rerum ordo erit. Nam, si vincimus, honorem, quem dederis, habebo : discrimen ac pericula ex æquo patiemur : immo, ut melius est, tu hos exercitus rege ; mihi bellum et præliorum incerta trade. Acriore hodie disciplina victi, quam victores agunt : hos ira, odium, ultionis cupiditas ad virtutem accendit : illi, per fastidium et contumaciam, hebescunt. Aperiet et recludet contacta et tumescentia victricium partium vulnera bellum ipsum. Nec mihi major in tua vigilantia, parsimonia, sapientia, fiducia est, quam in Vitellii torpore, inscitia, sævitia. Sed et meliorem in bello caussam, quam in pace habemus : nam qui deliberant, desciverunt.’

LXXVIII. Post Muciani orationem ceteri audentius circumsistere, hortari, ‘responsa vatum et siderum motus’ referre. Nec erat intactus tali superstitione, ut qui mox, rerum dominus, Seleucum quendam, mathematicum, rectorem et præscium palam habuerit. Recursabant animo vetera omina, (y) cupressus arbor in agris ejus, conspicua altitudine, repente prociderat ; ac postera die, eodem vestigio resurgens, procera et latior virebat : grande id prosperumque, consensu Haruspicum : et summa claritudo juveni admodum Vespasiano promissa. Sed primo triumphalia et Consulatus et Judicæ victoriæ decus, inplesse fidem omi-

x *Triumphale nomen.* In the reign of Claudius, Vespasian had obtained the honour of a triumph for his conduct in Britain. Suet. in Vesp. s. 4. His son Titus had served with the rank of military tribune in Britain as well as Germany, and gave early proofs of the modest merit that distinguished his character. Suet. in Tito. s. 4.

y For a number of oracles and prodigies, see Suet. in Vesp. s. 5 and 7.

nis videbantur : ut hæc adeptus est, portendi sibi Imperium credebat. Est Judæam inter Syriamque Carmelus, (z) ita vocant montem Deumque : nec simulacrum Deo aut templum situm tradidere majores ; aram tantum et reverentiam. Illic sacrificanti Vespasiano, cum spes occultas versaret animo, Basilides Sacerdos, inspectis identidem extis, ' Quidquid est,' inquit, ' Vespasiane, quod paras, seu domum exstruere, seu prolatare agros, sive ampliare servitia, datur tibi magna sedes, ingentes termini, multum hominum.' Has ambages et statim exceperat fama, et tunc aperiebat : nec quidquam magis in ore vulgi : crebriores apud ipsum sermones : quanto sperantibus plura dicuntur.

LXXIX. Haud dubia destinatione discessere : Mucianus Antiochiam, Vespasianus Cæsaream : illa Syriæ, hæc Judææ caput est. Initium ferendi ad Vespasianum Imperii Alexandriae cœptum, festinante Tiberio Alexandro, qui Kal. Jul. sacramento ejus legiones adegit. Isque primus Principatus dies in posterum celebratus, quamvis Judaicus exercitus quinto Non. Jul. apud ipsum jurasset, eo ardore, ut ne Titus quidem filius exspectaretur, Syria remeans, et consiliorum inter Mucianum ac patrem nuntius, cuncta inpetu militum acta : non parata concione, non conjunctis legionibus.

LXXX. Dum quæritur tempus locusque, quodque in re tali difficillimum, prima vox, dum animo spes, timor, ratio, casus observantur : egressum cubiculo Vespasianum pauci milites, solito adsistentes ordine, ut Legatum salutaturi, ' Imperatorem' salutavere. Tum ceteri adcurrere, ' Cæsarem' et ' Augustum,' et omnia Principatus vocabula cumulare : mens a metu ad fortunam transierat. In ipso nihil tumidum, adrogans, aut in rebus novis novum fuit : ut primum tantæ mutationis (a) obfusam oculis caliginem disjecit, militariter locutus, læta omnia et adfluentia excepit : namque id ipsum opperiens Mucianus, alacrem militem in verba Vespasiani adegit. Tum Antiochensium theatrum ingressus, ubi illis consultare mos est, concurrentes et in adulationem effusos adloquitur : satis decorus etiam Græca facundia, omniumque, quæ diceret atque ageret, arte quadam ostentator. Nihil æque provinciam exercitumque accendit, quam quod adseverabat Mucianus, ' statuisse Vitellium, ut Ger-

z Carmel, a mountain in Galilee on the Mediterranean.

a *Ut primum tantæ mutationis—disjecit.* Murphy translates this sentence ; the change dazzled his imagination : but he took time to allay the hurry of his spirits.

‘manicas legiones in Syriam, ad militiam opulentam quie-  
 ‘tamque, transferret; contra Syriacis legionibus Germanica  
 ‘hiberna, cœlo ac laboribus dura, mutarentur.’ Quippe et  
 provinciales sueto militum contubernio gaudebant, plerique  
 necessitudinibus et propinquitatibus mixti; et militibus ve-  
 tustate stipendiorum nota et familiaria castra in modum Pe-  
 natium (*b*) diligebantur.

LXXXI. Ante Idus Jul. Syria omnis in eodem sacramento  
 fuit. Accessere cum regno Sohemus, (*c*) haud spernendis  
 viribus; Antiochus, vetustis opibus ingens et inservientium  
 Regum ditissimus: mox per occultos suorum nuncios exci-  
 tus ab urbe Agrippa, (*d*) ignaro adhuc Vitellio, celeri navi-  
 gatione properaverat: nec minore animo Regina Berenice  
 partes juvabat, florens ætate formaque, et seni quoque Ves-  
 pasiano magnificentia munerum grata. Quidquid provincia-  
 rum adluitur mari, Asia atque Achaia tenus, quantumque  
 introrsus in Pontum et Armenios patescit, juravere: sed  
 inermes Legati regebant, nondum additis Cappadociæ le-  
 gionibus. Consilium de summa rerum Beryti (*e*) habitum:  
 illuc Mucianus, cum Legatis Tribunisque et splendidissimo  
 quoque Centurionum ac militum, venit: et e Judaico exer-  
 citu lecta decora. Tantum simul peditum equitumque, et  
 æmulantium inter se Regum paratus, speciem fortunæ Prin-  
 cipalis effecerant.

LXXXII. Prima belli cura, agere delectus: revocare  
 veteranos: destinantur validæ civitates exercendis armorum  
 officinis: apud Antiochenses aurum argentumque signatur:  
 eaque cuncta per idoneos ministros, suis quæque locis, fes-  
 tinabantur. Ipse Vespasianus adire, hortari, bonos laude,  
 segnes exemplo, incitare sæpius, quam coercere; vitia ma-  
 gis amicorum, quam virtutes dissimulans. Multos præfec-  
 turis et procurationibus; plerosque Senatorii ordinis honore  
 percoluit, egregios viros et mox summa adeptos; quibusdam  
 fortuna pro virtutibus fuit. Donativum militi neque Mucia-  
 nus prima concione, nisi modice, ostenderat; ne Vespasia-  
 nus quidem plus civilo bello obtulit, quam alii in pace: egre-

*b* In modum Penatium. As if they were their own household  
 gods—figuratively for their homes.

*c* Sohemus was king of the country, called Sophene.

*d* Excitus ab urbe Agrippa. For when Titus, having heard of the  
 death of Galba, had returned to his father, Agrippa immediately has-  
 tened to Rome, in order to ingratiate himself with the new Emperor.

*e* Berytus, now Barut in Phœnicia.



gie firmus adversus militarem largitionem, eoque exercitu meliore. Missi ad Parthum Armeniumque legati, provisumque, ne, versis ad civile bellum legionibus, terga nudarentur. Titum instare Judææ, Vespasianum obtinere claustra Ægypti placuit: sufficere videbantur adversus Vitellium pars copiarum et Dux Mucianus et Vespasiani nomen, ac nihil arduum fatis. Ad omnes exercitus Legatosque scriptæ epistolæ, præceptumque, 'ut Prætorianos, Vitellio infensos, recipere militiæ præmio invitarent.'

LXXXIII. Mucianus cum expedita manu, socium magis Imperii, quam ministrum agens, non lento itinere, ne cunctari videretur, neque tamen properans, gliscere famam ipso spatio sinebat: gnarus, modicas vires sibi, et majora credi de absentibus. Sed legio sexta et tredecim vexillariorum millia ingenti agmine sequebantur. Classem e Ponto (*f*) Byzantium adigi jusserat: ambiguus consilii, num, omissa Moesia, Dyrrhachium pedite atque equite, simul longis navibus versum in Italiam mare clauderet, tuta pone tergum Achaia Asiaque: quas inermes exponi Vitellio, ni præsidiis firmarentur: atque ipsum Vitellium in incerto fore, quam partem Italia protegeret, si sibi Brundisium Tarentumque et Lucaniæ Calabriæque litora infestis classibus peterentur.

LXXXIV. Igitur navium, militum, armorum, paratu strepere provinciæ. Sed nihil æque fatigabat, quam pecuniarum conquisitio: 'eos esse belli civilis nervos,' dictitans Mucianus, non jus aut verum in cognitionibus, sed solam magnitudinem opum spectabat: passim delationes: et locupletissimus quisque in prædam conrepti: quæ gravia atque intoleranda, sed necessitate armorum excusata, etiam in pace mansere: ipso Vespasiano, inter initia Imperii, ad obtinendas iniquitates haud perinde obstinante: donec indulgentia fortunæ et pravis magistris didicit aususque est. (*g*) Propriis quoque opibus Mucianus bellum juvat, largus privatim, quod avidius de Republica sumeret. Ceteri conferendarum pecuniarum exemplum secuti: rarissimus quisque eandem in recipiendo licentiam habuerunt.

LXXXV. Accelerata interim Vespasiani cœpta, Illyrici

*f* *Classem e Ponto.* The Romans had a fleet of forty sail, at Pontus, for the protection of that coast.

*g* Vespasian, in the height of his power, did not scruple to raise large sums of money by severe exactions; but the apology for his avarice was the liberal spirit with which he adorned Rome and Italy with grand and useful works. See Suet. in Vesp. s. 16.

exercitus studio, transgressi in partes. Tertia legio exemplum ceteris Mœsiæ legionibus præbuit. Octava erat ac septima Claudiana, inbutæ favore Othonis, quamvis prælio non interfuissent. Aquileiam progressæ, proturbatis, qui de Othone, nuntiabant, laceratisque vexillis, nomen 'Vitel-  
lii' præferentibus, rapta postremo pecunia et inter se divisa, hostiliter egerant. Unde metus, et ex metu consilium: 'posse imputari Vespasiano, quæ apud Vitellium excusanda  
'erant.' (h) Ita tres Mœsicæ legiones per epistolas adliciebant Pannonicum exercitum, aut abnuenti vim parabant. In eo motu Aponius Saturninus, Mœsiæ rector, pessimum facinus audet, misso Centurione ad interficiendum Tertium Julianum, septimæ legionis Legatum, ob similitudines, quibus caussam partium prætendebat. Julianus, comperto discrimine, et gnaris locorum adscitis, per avia Mœsiæ, ultra montem Hæmum profugit: nec deinde civili bello interfuit, per varias moras susceptum ad Vespasianum iter trahens, et ex nuntiis cunctabundus, aut properans.

LXXXVI. At in Pannonia tertiadecima legio, ac septima Galbiana, dolorem iramque Bedriacensis pugnæ retinentes, haud cunctanter Vespasiano accessere, vi præcipua Primi Antonii. Is legibus nocens et tempore Neronis falsi damnatus, (i) inter alia belli mala, Senatorium ordinem recipaverat. Præpositus a Galba septimæ legioni, scriptitasse Othoni credebatur, ducem se partibus offerens: a quo neglectus, in nullo Othoniani belli usu fuit: labantibus Vitellii rebus, Vespasianum secutus, grande momentum addidit; strenuus manu, sermone promptus, ferendæ in alios invidiæ artifex, discordiis et seditionibus potens, raptor, largitor, pace pessimus, bello non spernendus. Juncti inde Mœsici ac Pannonici exercitus, Dalmaticum militem traxere quamquam Consularibus Legatis nihil turbantibus. Titus Ampius Flavianus Pannoniam, Poppæus Silvanus Dalmatiam tenebant, divites senes. Sed Procurator aderat Cornelius Fuscus, vicens ætate, claris natalibus: prima juvenia, quietis cupidine, Senatorium ordinem exuerat: idem pro Galba dux coloniæ suæ, eaque opera Procuracionem adeptus, susceptis Vespasiani partibus, acerrimam bello faciem præ-

*h* *Posse imputari—erant.* Required a pardon from Vitellius, but with Vespasian stood in the light of a real merit.

*i* Primus Antonius, now the leader of Vespasian's armies, had been formerly convicted of extortion. See Annals xiv. s. 18.

tulit : non tam præmiis periculorum, quam ipsis periculis lætus : pro certis et olim partis nova, ambigua, ancipitia malebat. Igitur movere et quaterere, quidquid usquam ægrum foret, adgrediuntur. (*j*) Scriptæ in Britanniam ad quartadecimanos, in Hispaniam ad primanos epistolæ ; quod utraque legio pro Othone, adversa Vitellio fuerat : sparguntur per Gallias litteræ : momentoque temporis flagrabat ingens bellum, Illyricis exercitibus palam desciscitentibus, ceteris fortunam secuturis.

LXXXVII. Dum hæc per provincias a Vespasiano Ducibusque partium geruntur, Vitellius contemptior in dies segniorque, ad omnes municipiorum villarumque amœnitates resistens, gravi urbem agmine petebat. Sexaginta millia armatorum sequebantur, licentia corrupta : calorum numerus amplior : procacissimis etiam inter servos lixarum ingeniis : tot Legatorum amicorumque comitatus, inhabilis ad parendum, etiam si summa modestia regeretur. Onerabant multitudinem obvii ex urbe Senatores Equitesque : quidam metu, multi per adulationem, ceteri ac paullatim omnes, ne, aliis proficiscentibus, ipsi remanerent. Adgregabantur e plebe, flagitiosa per obsequia Vitellio cogniti, scurræ, histriones, aurigæ, quibus ille amicitiarum dehonestamentis mire gaudebat. Nec coloniæ modo, aut municipia, congestu copiarum (*k*) sed ipsi cultores arvaque, maturis jam frugibus, ut hostile solum vastabantur.

LXXXVIII. Multæ et atroces inter se militum cædes, post seditionem Ticini cœptam manente legionum auxiliorumque discordia ; ubi adversus paganos certandum foret, consensu. Sed plurima strages ad septimum ab urbe lapidem : singulis ibi militibus Vitellius paratos cibos, ut gladiatoriam saginam, dividebat : et effusa plebes totis se castris miscuerat. Incuriosos milites, vernacula utebantur urbanitate, quidam spoliavere, abscisis furtim balteis, ‘ an ‘ accincti forent,’ rogitantes. Non tulit ludibrium insolens contumeliæ animus : inermem populum gladiis invasere : cæsus inter alios pater militis, cum filium comitaretur ; deinde agnitus : et, vulgata cæde, temperatum ab innoxiiis. In urbe tamen trepidatum, præcurrentibus passim militibus. Forum maxime petebant, cupidine visendi locum, in quo Galba jacuisset. Nec minus sævum spectaculum erant

*j* *Adgrediuntur.* i. e. Vespasian and the other leaders of his party.

*k* *Congestu copiarum.* By the immense quantity of supplies.



ipsi, tergis ferarum et ingentibus telis horrentes, cum turbam populi per inscitiam (*l*) parum vitarent, aut, ubilubrico viæ vel occursu alicujus procidissent, ad jurgium, mox ad manus et ferrum transirent. Quin et Tribuni Præfectique cum terrore et armatorum catervis volitabant.

LXXXIX. Ipse Vitellius, a ponte Milvio, insigni equo, paludatus accinctusque, Senatum et Populum ante se agens, quo minus, ut captam, urbem ingrederetur, amicorum consilio deterritus, sumpta prætexta et composito agmine, incessit. Quatuor legionum aquilæ per frontem, totidemque circa e legionibus aliis vexilla, mox duodecim alarum signa, et post peditum ordines, eques: dein quatuor et triginta cohortes, ut nomina gentium, aut species armorum forent, discretæ. Ante aquilam (*m*) Præfecti castrorum Tribuni que et primi Centurionum, candida veste: ceteri juxta suam quisque centuriam, armis donisque fulgentes. Et militum phaleræ torquesque splendebant: decora facies, et non Vitellio Principe dignus exercitus. Sic Capitolium ingressus, atque ibi matrem complexus, Augustæ nomine honoravit.

XC. Postera die, tamquam apud alterius civitatis Senatum Populumque, magnificam orationem de semetipso prompsit, industriam temperantiamque suam laudibus adtollens: consciis flagitiorum ipsis, qui aderant, omnique Italia, per quam somno et luxu pudendus incesserat. Vultus tamen, vacuum curis, et sine falsi verique discrimine solitas adulationes edoctum, clamore et vocibus adstrepebat: abnuentique nomen 'Augusti,' expressere, ut adsumeret: tam frustra, quam recusaverat. (*n*)

XCI. Apud civitatem, cuncta interpretantem, funesti ominis loco acceptum est, quod, maximum Pontificatum adeptus, Vitellius de cæremoniis publicis quintodecimo Kalendas Augusti edixisset, antiquitus infausto die Cremerensi Alliensique cladibus, (*o*) adeo omnis humani divini-

*l Per inscitiam.* Not having been accustomed to the crowds of a city.

*m Ante aquilam.* Each one before his own eagle or standard.

*n Tam frustra, quam recusaverat.* With as little advantage as if he had refused it.

*o* The defeat at Cremera, a river in Tuscany, (now *La Varca*) was A. U. C. 277. At Allia (now *Torrente di Catino*) the Roman army was put to the sword by the Gauls under Brennus, A. U. C. 364. The slaughter was so great that the day on which it happened (*Dies Allien-*

que juris expers, pari libertorum amicorumque socordia, velut inter temulentos agebat. Sed comitia Consulium cum candidatis civiliter celebrans, omnem infimæ plebis rumorem, in theatro ut spectator, in circo ut fautor, adfectavit : quæ, grata sane et popularia, si a virtutibus proficiscerentur, memoria vitæ prioris, (*p*) indecora et vilia accipiebantur. Ventitabat in Senatum ; etiam cum parvis de rebus Patres consulerentur. Ac forte Priscus Helvidius, Prætor designatus, contra studium ejus consuerat. Commotus primo Vitellius, non tamen ultra, quam ‘ Tribunos plebis ‘ in auxilium spretæ potestatis’ advocavit. Mox, mitigantibus amicis, qui altiore iracundiam ejus verebantur, ‘ nihil novi accidisse,’ respondit, ‘ quod duo Senatores in Re- ‘ publica dissentirent : solitum se etiam Thræseæ (*q*) con- ‘ tradicere.’ Inrisere plerique inpudentiam æmulationis : aliis id ipsum placebat, quod neminem ex præpotentibus, sed Thræseam, ad exemplar veræ gloriæ legisset.

XCII. Præposuerat Prætorianis P. Sabinum, a Præfectura cohortis ; Julium Priscum, tum Centurionem : Priscus Valentis, Sabinus Cæcinæ gratia pollebant. Inter discordes Vitellio nihil auctoritatis : munia Imperii Cæcina ac Valens obibant : olim anxii odiis, quæ, bello et castris male dissimulata, pravitas amicorum, et fecunda gignendis inimicitii civitas auxerat, dum ambitu, comitatu, et immensis salutantium agminibus contendunt comparanturque ; variis in hunc aut illum Vitellii inclinationibus. Nec unquam satis fida potentia, ubi nimia est. Simul ipsum Vitellium, subitis offensis aut intempestivis blanditiis mutabilem, contemnebant metuebantque. Nec eo segnius invaserant domos, hortos, opesque Imperii : cum flebilis et egens nobilium turba, quos ipsos liberosque patriæ Galba reddiderat, nulla Principis misericordia juvantur. Gratum primoribus civitatis, etiam plebes adprobavit, quod reversis ab exilio jura libertorum (*r*) concessisset : quamquam id omni modo

*sis*) was marked as unlucky in the calendar, and according to Cicero, thought more fatal than that on which Rome was taken.

*p* Vitellius, in the time of Nero, associated with pantomime actors, charioteers and wrestlers. Suetonius, in Vitel. s. 4 and 12.

*q* Thræseas was a philosopher of Patavium, in the age of Nero, famous for his independence and generous sentiments. See Annals xvi. 21.

*r* *Jura libertorum*. Patrons retained various rights over their freedmen. If the patron were reduced to poverty, the freedman was bound to support him, according to his ability. If the freedman died intestate, without heirs, the patron succeeded to his effects.

servilia ingenia conrumpebant, abditis pecuniis per occultos aut ambitiosos (s) sinus : et quidam in domum Cæsaris transgressi, atque ipsis dominis potentiores.

XCIII. Sed miles, plenis castris et, redundante multitudine, in porticibus aut delubris et urbe tota vagus, non principia noscere, non servare vigilias, neque labore firmari : per inlecebras urbis et inhonesta dictu, corpus otio, animum libidinibus inminuebant. Postremo, ne salutis quidem cura, infamibus vaticani locis magna pars tetendit : unde crebræ in vulgus mortes. (t) Et, adjacente Tiberi, Germanorum Gallorumque obnoxia morbis corpora fluminis aviditas et æstus impatientia labefecit. Insuper confusus, pravitate vel ambitu, ordo militiæ. Sedecim Prætoriaræ, quatuor urbanæ cohortes scribebantur, quis singula millia inessent. (u) Plus in eo delectu Valens audebat, tamquam ipsum Cæcinam periculo exemisset : sane adventu ejus partes convulnerant, et sinistrum lenti itineris rumorem prospero prælio verterat : omnisque inferioris Germaniæ miles Valentem adsectabatur : unde primum creditur Cæcinæ fides fluitasse.

XCIV. Ceterum non ita ducibus indulisit Vitellius, ut non plus militi liceret : sibi quisque militiam sumpsere, quamvis indignus, si ita maluerat, urbanæ militiæ adscribatur : rursus bonis, remanere inter legionarios aut alares volentibus, permissum ; nec deerant, qui vellent, fessi morbis et intemperiem cæli incusantes. Robora tamen legionibus alisque subtracta : convulsum castrorum decus, viginti millibus, e toto exercitu, permixtis magis quam electis. Concionante Vitellio, postulatur ‘ ad supplicium Asiaticus et Flavius et Rufinus, duces Galliarum, quod pro Vindice bellassent.’ Nec coercerat ejusmodi voces Vitellius : super insitam inertis animi ignaviam, conscius, sibi instare donativum et deesse pecuniam, omnia alia militi largiebatur. Liberti principum, ‘ conferre pro numero mancipiorum,’ ut tributum, jussi. Ipse, sola perdendi cura, stabula aurigis exstruere : circum gladiatorum fera-

s. *Abditis pecuniis, etc.* Their wealth being concealed in obscure places, or deposited in the custody of the great.

t The lands around the Vatican were covered with stagnant water, and the air of course was unwholesome.

u Before the augmentation, the prætorian cohorts, (i. e. those that were encamped near Rome) were only nine ; the city-guard consisted of three, called *Cohortes Urbanæ*, Ann. iv. s. 5.



rumque spectaculis opplere : tamquam in summa abundantia, pecuniæ inludere.

XCV. Quin et natalem Vitellii diem Cæcina ac Valens, editis tota urbe vicatim gladiatoribus celebravere : ingenti paratu et ante illum diem insolito. Lætum fœdissimo cuique, apud bonos invidiæ fuit, quod exstructis in campo Martio aris, inferias Neroni fecisset : cæsæ publice victimæ crematæque : facem Augustales subdidere : quod sacerdotium, ut Romulus Tatius Regi, ita Cæsar Tiberius Juliæ genti sacrauit. Nondum quartus a victoria mensis, et libertus Vitelli, Asiaticus, Polycletos, Patrobios et vetera odiorum nomina æquebat. (v) Nemo in illa aula probitate aut industria certavit : unum ad potentiam iter, prodigiis epulis et sumptu ganeaque satiare inexplébiles Vitellii libidines. Ipse abunde ratus, si præsentibus frueretur, nec in longius consultans, novies millies sestertium, paucissimis mensibus, intervertisse creditur. Magna et misera civitas, eodem anno Othonem Vitelliumque passa, inter Vinios, Fabios, Icelos, Asiaticos, varia et pudenda sorte agebat ; donec succedere Mucianus et Marcellus (w) et magis alii homines, quam alii mores.

XCVI. Prima Vitellio 'tertiæ legionis defectio' nunciatur, missis ab Aponio Saturnino epistolis, antequam is quoque Vespasiani partibus adgregaretur. Sed neque Aponius cuncta, ut trepidans re subita, perscripserat, et amici adulantes mollius interpretabantur : 'unius legionis eam seditionem, ceteris exercitibus constare fidem.' In hunc modum etiam Vitellius apud milites disseruit. Prætorianos nuper exauctoratos insectatus, 'a quibus falsos rumores dispergi, nec ullum civilis belli metum,' adseverabat, suppresso Vespasiani nomine, et vagis per urbem militibus, qui sermones populi coercerent : id præcipuum alimentum famæ erat.

XCVII. Auxilia tamen e Germania Britanniaque et Hispaniis excivit, segniter, et necessitatem dissimulans. Perinde Legati provinciæque cunctabantur : Hordeonius

v *Vetera odiorum nomina.* The former freedmen whose names were execrated.

w Mucianus was the active partisan of Vespasian (this book, s. 76.) Eprius Marcellus, a man who raised himself by his flagitious deeds, (Ann. xvi. s. 12.) was the favourite minister under Vespasian. See the Dialogue concerning Oratory, s. 8.

Flaccus, (x) suspectis jam Batavis, anxius proprio bello, Vettius Bolanus, nunquam satis quieta Britannia : et uterque ambigui : neque ex Hispaniis properabatur, nullo tum ibi Consulari : trium legionum Legati, pares jure et, prosperis Vitellii rebus, certaturi ad obsequium, adversam ejus fortunam ex æquo detrectabant. In Africa legio cohortesque, delectæ a Clodio Macro, mox a Galba dimissæ, rursus jussu Vitellii militiam cepere : simul cetera juvenus dabat inpigre nomina : quippe integrum illic ac favorabilem Proconsulatum Vitellius, famosum invisumque, Vespasianus egerat : perinde socii de Imperio utriusque conjectabant : sed experimentum contra fuit.

XCVIII. Ac primo Valerius Festus, Legatus, studia provincialium cum fide juvit : mox nutabat, palam epistolis edictisque Vitellium, occultis nuntiis Vespasianum, fovens, et hæc illave defensurus, prout invaluisent. Deprehensum cum litteris edictisque Vespasiani, per Rhætiā et Gallias, militum et Centurionum quidam, ad Vitellium missi, necantur : plures fefellere, fide amicorum, aut suomet astu occultati. Ita Vitellii paratus noscebantur, Vespasiani consiliorum pleraque ignota : primum socordia Vitellii : deinde Pannonicæ Alpes, præsidiis insessæ, nuntios retinebant : mare quoque Etesiarum flatu (y) in Orientem navigantibus secundum, inde adversum erat.

XCIX. Tandem, inruptione hostium, atrocibus undique nuntiis exterritus, Cæcinam et Valentem expedire ad bellum jubet : præmissus Cæcina : Valentem, e gravi corporis morbo tum primum adsurgentem, infirmitas tardabat. Longe alia proficiscentis ex urbe Garmanici exercitus species : non vigor corporibus, non ardor animis : lentum et rarum agmen, fluxa arma, segnes equi : inpatiens solis, pulveris, tempestatum : quantumque hebes ad sustinendum laborem miles, tanto ad discordias promptior. Accedebat huc Cæcinæ ambitio vetus, torpor recens, nimia fortunæ indulgentia soluti in luxum : seu perfidiam meditantis infringere exercitus virtutem, inter artes erat. Credidere plerique, Flavii Sabini consiliis concussam Cæcinæ mentem, ministro sermonum Rubrio Gallo, 'rata apud Vespasianum

x Hordeonius Flaccus was appointed by Galba to the command on the Upper Rhine, in the room of Verginius Rufus.

y *Etesia*, were gentle northern winds, very common in the months of spring and autumn. Lueretius 5. v. 741.

‘ fore pacta transitionis :’ simul odiorum invidiæque erga Fabium Valentem admonebatur, ‘ ut inpar apud Vitellium, ‘ gratiam viresque apud novum Principem pararet.’

C. Cæcina complexu Vitellii multo cum honore digressus, partem equitum ad occupandam Cremonam præmisit : mox vexilla quartæ, decimæ et sextadecimæ (z) legionum ; dein quinta et duoetvicesima secutæ : postremo agmine unaetvicesima Rapax et prima Italica incessere, cum vexillariis trium Britannicarum legionum et electis auxiliis. Profecto Cæcina, scripsit Fabius Valens exercitui, quem ipse ductaverat, ‘ ut in itinere opperiretur ; sic sibi cum ‘ Cæcina convenisse :’ qui præsens, eoque validior, ‘ in- ‘ mutatum id consilium’ finxit, ‘ ut ingruenti bello tota mole ‘ occurreretur. Ita accelerare’ legiones ‘ Cremonam,’ pars ‘ Hostiliam (a) petere’ jussæ : ipse Ravenam divertit, prætexto classem adloquendi : mox Patavii secretum componendæ proditiōis quæsitum. Namque Lucilius Bassus, post præfecturam alæ, Ravennati simul ac Misenensi classibus a Vitellio præpositus, quod non statim Præfecturam Prætorii adeptus foret, iniquam iracundiam flagitiosa perfidia ulcisccebatur, nec sciri potest, traxeritne Cæcinam, an (quod evenit inter malos, ut et similes sunt) eadem illos pravitas inpulerit.

CI. Scriptores temporum, qui, potente rerum Flavia domo, monumenta belli hujusce composuerunt, ‘ curam ‘ pacis et amorem Reipublicæ’ conruptas in adulationem ‘ caussas,’ tradidere. Nobis, super insitam levitatem, et, prodito Galba, vilem mox fidem, æmulatione etiam invidiæque, ne ab aliis apud Vitellium anteiretur, pervertisse ipsum videtur. Cæcina, legiones adsecutus, Centurionum militumque animos, obstinatos pro Vitellio, variis artibus subruebat : Basso eadem molienti minor difficultas erat, lubrica ad mutandam fidem classe, ob memoriam recentis pro Othone militiæ.

z Brotier thinks there is a mistake in the text. The fourteenth legion, he observes, stood firm for Otho, and for that reason were sent into Britain. But perhaps the veterans, who had served their time, and were still retained in service, were left in Italy.

a Hostilia was a village on the Po, now *Ostiglia*, in the neighbourhood of Cremona.



THE  
HISTORY  
OF  
TACITUS.  
BOOK III.

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BOOK III.

- I. The leaders of Vespasian's army deliberate about the plan of their operations. Antonius is for expedition. The army under his conduct arrives in Italy. Arrius Varus accompanies Antonius as second in command. VI. They take possession of Aquileia and other cities. VIII. Antonius fixes the seat of war at Verona. Vespasian ignorant of the rapid progress in Italy. By his letters he had advised caution and delay. Mucianus wrote to the same effect. IX. Letters pass between Cæcina and Vespasian's generals. X. A violent sedition among Vespasian's troops appeased by Antonius. XII. Lucilius Bassus and Cæcina conspire to betray Vitellius. The fleet at Ravenna revolts to Vespasian. Lucius Bassus is seized and sent to Mennius Rufinus; he is loaded with fetters, but released by the authority of Hormus, one of Vespasian's freedmen. XIII. Cæcina proposes a general revolt of the army. By his advice several swear fidelity to Vespasian. The soldiers discontented with the proceeding. They put Cæcina in irons. XV. Antonius arrives at Bedriacum. A battle with the Vitellians. Vespasian's army gains the victory; the soldiers eager to push forward to Cremona. XX. Antonius harrangues the men, and restrains their impetuosity. XXI.

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These transactions passed in a few months.

Year of Rome.

822

Of Christ.

69

Consuls.

Fabius Valens, }  
 Alienus Cæcina, }  
 Rosius Regulus, }  
 Cæcilius Simplex. }  
 Quinctius Atticus.



MELIORE fato fideque partium Flavianarum duces consilia belli tractabant. Petovionem in hiberna tertiædecimæ legionis convenerant: illic agitavere, 'placeretne obstrui



‘Pannoniæ Alpes, donec a tergo vires universæ consurgere-  
 ‘rent; an ire cominus et certare pro Italia constantius foret.’ Quibus opperiri auxilia et trahere bellum videbatur, ‘Germanicarum legionum vim famamque’ extollebant, ‘et advenisse, nox cum Vitellio Britannici exercitus robor-  
 ‘ra: ipsis nec numerum parem pulsarum nuper legionum; et, quamquam atrociter loquerentur, minorem esse apud  
 ‘victos animum. Sed, insessis interim Alpibus, venturum  
 ‘cum copiis Orientis Mucianum. Superesse Vespasiano  
 ‘mare, classes, studia provinciarum, per quas velut alteri-  
 ‘us belli molem cieret. Ita salubri mora novas vires ad-  
 ‘fore, et præsentibus nihil perituum.’

II. Ad ea Antonius Primus (is acerrimus belli concita-  
 ‘tor) ‘festinationem ipsis utilem, Vitellio exitiosam,’ disse-  
 ‘ruit: ‘plus socordiæ, quam fiduciæ, accessisse victoribus:  
 ‘neque enim in procinctu et castris habitos: per omnia  
 ‘Italiæ municipia desides, tantum hospitibus metuendos,  
 ‘quanto ferocius ante se egerint, tanto cupidius insolitas  
 ‘voluptates hausisse. Circo quoque ac theatri et amœ-  
 ‘nitate urbis emollitos, aut valetudinibus fessos. Sed, ad-  
 ‘dito spatio, rediturum et his robur meditatione belli: nec  
 ‘procul Germaniam, unde vires: Britanniam freto dirimi:  
 ‘juxta Gallias Hispaniasque; utrimque viros, equos, tri-  
 ‘buta: ipsamque Italiam et opes urbis: ac, si inferre arma  
 ‘ultro velint, duas classes, vacuumque Illyricum mare.  
 ‘Quid tum claustra montium profutura? quid tractum in  
 ‘æstatem aliam bellum? unde interim pecuniam et com-  
 ‘meatas? Quin potius eo ipso uterentur, quod Pannoni-  
 ‘cæ legiones, deceptæ magis, quam victæ, resurgere in ul-  
 ‘tionem properent: Mœsici exercitus integras vires adtu-  
 ‘lerint. Si numerus militum (*a*) potius, quam legionum,  
 ‘putetur, plus hinc roboris, nihil libidinum: et profuisse  
 ‘disciplinæ ipsum pudorem. Equites vero ne tum quidem  
 ‘victos; sed, quamquam rebus adversis, disjectam Vitellii  
 ‘aciem. Duæ tunc Pannonicæ ac Mœsicæ alæ perrupere  
 ‘hostem: nunc sedecim alarum conjuncta signa pulsu soni-  
 ‘tuque et nube ipsa operient ac superfundunt oblitos præ-  
 ‘liorum equites equosque. Nisi quis retinet, idem suasor  
 ‘auctorque consilii ero. Vos, quibus fortuna in integro

*a Si numerus militum, etc.* The idea is, that the soldiers of Vespasian were more numerous than those of Vitellius. For although Vitellius had the greater number of legions, still the legions had not their full quota of troops.

‘est, (b) legiones continete : mihi expeditæ cohortes sufficient. Jam reseratam Italiam, impulsas Vitellii res audietis : juvabit sequi et vestigiis vincentis insistere.’

III. Hæc atque talia, flagrans oculis, truci voce, quo latius audiretur, (etenim se Centuriones et quidam militum consilio miscuerant) ita effudit, ut cautos quoque ac providos permoveret, vulgus et ceteri, ‘unum virum Ducemque,’ sprete ‘aliorum segnitia,’ laudibus ferrent. Hanc sui famam ea statim concione commoverat, qua, recitatis Vespasiani epistolis, non, ut plerique, (c) incerta disseruit, huc illuc tracturus interpretationem, prout conduxisset ; aperte descendisse in causam videbatur : eoque gravior militibus erat, culpæ vel gloriæ socius.

IV. Proxima Cornelii Fusci Procuratoris auctoritas : is quoque, inclementer in Vitellium invehî solitus, nihil spei sibi inter adversa reliquerat. Titus Ampius Flavianus, natura ac senecta cunctatior, suspiciones militum irritabat, tamquam adfinitatis cum Vitellio meminisset : (d) idemque, quod, coeptante legionum motu, profugus, dein sponte remeaverat, perfidiæ locum quæsisse credebatur. Nam Flavianum, omitta Pannonia, ingressum Italiam, et discrimini exemptum, rerum novarum cupido Legati nomen resumere, et misceri civilibus armis, inpulerat : suadente Cornelio Fusco ; non, quia industria Flaviani egebat, sed ut Consulare nomen surgentibus cum maxime partibus honesta specie prætenderetur.

V. Ceterum, ut transmittere in Italiam inpune et usui foret, scriptum Aponio Saturnino, (e) ‘cum exercito Mœsico celeraret.’ Ac, ne inermes provinciæ barbaris nationibus exponerentur, Principes Sarmatarum Jazygum, (f) penes quos civitatis regimen, in commilitium adsciti : ‘plebem’ quoque, ‘et vim equitum,’ qua sola valent, offerebant : remissum id munus, ne inter discordias externa molirentur, aut, majore ex diverso mercede, jus fasque ex-

b *Quibus fortuna in integro est.* Who can still deliberate—who have not banished the hope of pardon in case Vitellius is victor.

c *Non ut plerique, etc.* He did not, like most men, use equivocal terms, which might afterwards receive the construction that suited the views of the speaker.

d Ampius Flavianus was related to Vitellius ; See this book, s. 10.

e Aponius Saturninus was governor of Mœsia. Hist. ii. s. 95, 96.

f Jazyges, a people of Sarmatia Europæa, situate on the west side of the Palus Mæotis, near the territory of Maroboduus, the German king.

uerent. Trahuntur in partes Sido atque Italicus, Reges Suevorum, quis vetus obsequium erga Romanos, et gens fidei commissæ patientior: posita in latus auxilia, infesta Rætia, cui Portius Septiminius Procurator erat, incorruptæ erga Vitellium fidei. Igitur Sextilius Felix, cum ala Auriana (*g*) et octo cohortibus ac Noricorum juventute, ad occupandam ripam Æni fluminis, (*h*) quod Rhetos Noricosque interfluit, missus: nec, his aut illis prælium tentantibus, fortuna partium alibi transacta.

VI. Antonio, vexillarios e cohortibus et partem equitum ad invadendam Italiam rapienti, comes fuit Arrius Varus, strenuus bello: quam gloriam et dux Corbulo (*i*) et prosperæ in Armenia res addiderant. Idem, 'secretis apud Neronem rumoribus,' ferebatur, 'Corbulonis virtutes criminatus:' unde, infami gratia primum pilum adeptus, læta ad præsens male parta, mox in perniciem vertere. Sed Primus ac Varus, occupantes Aquileiæ proxima quæque, et Opitergii et Altini lætis animis accipiuntur: relictum Altini præsidium adversus classem Ravennatem, nondum defectione ejus audita: inde Patavium et Ateste partibus adjungere: (*j*) illic cognitum, 'tres Vitellianas cohortes et alam, cui Sebonianæ nomen, ad Forum Allieni, ponte juncto, consedissee:' placuit occasio invadendi incuriosos: nam id quoque nuntiabatur: luce prima inermes plerosque oppressere. Prædictum, 'ut, paucis interfectis, ceteros pavore ad mutandam fidem cogerent:' et fuere, qui se statim dederent: plures abrupto ponte, instanti hosti viam abstulerunt.

VII. Vulgata victoria, post principia belli secundum Flavianos, duæ legiones, septima Galbiana, tertia decima Gemina, cum Vedio Aquila, Legato, Patavium alacres veniunt: ibi pauci dies ad requiem sumpti: et Minucius Justus, Præfectus castrorum, legionis septimæ, quia adductus, quam civili bello, imperitabat, subtractus militum iræ, ad Vespasianum missus est. Desiderata diu res, interpre-

*g* *Ala Auriana.* A squadron of horse, most probably from the city of *Auria*, in Spain.

*h* *Ænus*, a river rising in the country of the *Grisons*, and running thence into the Danube.

*i* For Corbulo's conduct in Armenia, see Ann. 13.

*j* *Opitergium*, now *Oderzo*, *Altinum*, on the Adriatic, now called *Altino*, *Patavium*, now called *Padua*, and *Ateste* situate a little south of *Patavium* were all in the Venetian territory.



tatione gloriæ, in majus accipitur, postquam ‘Galbæ imagines, discordia temporum subversas, in omnibus municipiis recoli’ jussit Antonius: decorum pro caussa ratus, si placere Galbæ Principatus et partes revirescere crederentur.

VIII. Quæsitum inde, ‘quæ sedes bello legeretur? ‘Verona potior’ visa, ‘patentibus circum campis ad pugnam equestrem,’ qua prævalebant: simul, ‘coloniam ‘copiis validam auferre Vitellio, in rem famamque’ videbatur. Possessa ipso transitu Vicetia: quod per se parum (etenim modicæ municipio vires) magni momenti locum obtinuit, reputantibus, ‘illic Cæcinam genitum, et patriam ‘hostium Duci ereptam.’ In Veronensibus pretium fuit: exemplo opibusque partes juvere. Et interjectus exercitus per Rætiam Juliasque Alpes; ac, ne pervium illa Germanicis exercitibus foret, obseperat: quæ ignara Vespasiano, aut vetita: quippe ‘Aquileiæ sisti bellum exspectarique Mucianum’ jubebat, adjiciebatque imperio consilium, ‘quando Ægyptus, claustra annonæ, vectigalia (*k*) ‘opulentissimarum provinciarum obtinerentur, posse Vitellii exercitum, egestate stipendii frumentique ad deditionem ‘subigi.’ Eadem Mucianus crebris epistolis monebat, ‘incruentam et sine luctu victoriam,’ et alia hujuscemodi prætexendo; sed gloriæ avidus atque omne belli decus sibi retinens. Ceterum ex distantibus terrarum spatiis, consilia post res adferebantur.

IX. Igitur repentino incursu Antonius stationes hostium inrumpit, tentatisque levi prælio animis, ex æquo discesum. Mox Cæcina inter Hostiliam, vicum Veronensium et paludes Tartari fluminis, castra permuniit; tutus loco, cum terga flumine, latera objectu paludis tegerentur: quod si adfuisset fides, aut opprimi universis Vitellianorum viribus duæ legiones, nondum conjuncto Mæsico exercitu, potuere, aut retro actæ, deserta Italia, turpem iugam conscivissent. Sed Cæcina, per varias moras, prima hostibus prodidit tempora belli, dum, quos armis pellere promptum erat, epistolis increpat, donec per nuntios pacta perfidiæ firmaret. Interim Aponius Saturnius cum legione septima

*k* Egypt was the Roman granary of corn; and Pliny the Younger says, that the people of that country were proud to find that the conquerors of the world depended on them for their daily maintenance. Pliny's Panegyric, s. 31.

Claudiana advenit: legioni Tribunus Vipstanius Messala præerat, claris majoribus, egregius ipse, et qui solus ad id bellum artes bonas adtulisset. Has ad copias, nequaquam Vitellianis pares (quippe tres adhuc legiones erant) misit epistolas Cæcina, 'temeritatem victa arma tractantium' incusans: simul 'virtus Germanici exercitus' laudibus adtollabatur; Vitellii modica et vulgari mentione, nulla in Vespasianum contumelia: nihil prorsus, quod aut conrumperet hostem, aut terreret. Flavianarum partium Duces, ommissa prioris fortunæ defensione, pro Vespasiano magnifice, pro caussa fidenter, de exercitu securi, in Vitellium ut inimici, præsumpsere: (*l*) facta Tribunis Centurionibusque 'retinendi, quæ Vitellius indulsisset,' spe: atque ipsum Cæcinam non obscure ad transitionem hortabantur. Recitatæ pro concione epistolæ (*m*) addidere fiduciam, quod submitte Cæcina, velut offendere Vespasianum timens, ipsorum Duces contemptim, tamquam insultantes Vitellio, scripsissent.

X. Adventu deinde duarum legionum, e quibus tertium Dillius Aponianus, octavam Numisius Lupus ducebant, ostentare vires, et militari vultu Veronam circumdare placuit. Forte Galbianæ legioni in adversa fronte valli opus cesserat, et visi procul sociorum equites, vanam formidinem, ut hostes, fecere. Rapiuntur arma et ut prodicionis ira militum in T. Ampium Flavianum incubuit, (*n*) nullo criminis argumento, sed jam pridem invisus turbine quodam ad exitium poscebatur: 'propinquum Vitellii, proditorem Othonis, interceptorem donativi' clamitabant. Nec defensionis locus, quamquam supplices manus tenderet, humi plerumque stratus, lacera veste, pectus atque ora singultu quatiens: id ipsum apud infensos incitamentum erat, tamquam nimius pavor conscientiam argueret. Obturbabatur militum vocibus Aponius, (*o*) cum loqui cœptaret: fremitu et clamore ceteros adspernantur: uni Antonio apertæ militum aures: namque et facundia aderat, mulcendique vulgum artes et auctoritas. Ubi crudescere seditio, et a conviciis

*l Præsumpsere.* They dared to write boldly against Vitellius before the victory.

*m Epistolæ, i. e.* the letters of Cæcina to the leaders of Vespasian and theirs to him.

*n Ut prodicionis, etc.* The anger of the soldiery was turned towards Flavianus as the author of the plot.

*o Aponius.* Saturninus, concerning whom, see this book, s. 9.

et probris ad tela et manus transibant, 'injici catenas' Flaviano jubet. Sensit ludibrium miles, disjectisque, qui tribunal tuebantur, extremâ vis parabatur. Opposuit sinum Antonius, stricto ferro, 'aut militum se manibus, aut suis, 'moriturum' obtestans: ut quemque notum et aliquo militari decore insignem adspexerat, ad ferendam opem nomine ciens: mox conversus ad signa, et bellorum Deos, 'hostium potius exercitibus illum furorem, illam discordiam 'injicerent, orabat: donec fatisceret seditio, et, extremo jam die, sua quisque in tentoria dilaberentur. Profectus eadem nocte Flavianus, obviis Vespasiani litteris, discrimini exemptus est. (*p*)

XI. Legiones, velut tabe infectæ, Aponium Saturninum, Mœsici exercitus Legatum, eo atrocius adgrediuntur, quod non, ut prius, labore et opere fessæ, sed medio diei exarserant: vulgatis epistolis, quas Saturninis ad Vitellium scripsisse credebatur. Ut olim virtutis modestiæque, tunc procacitatis et petulantiae, certamen erat, ne minus violenter Aponium, quam Flavianum, ad supplicium deposcerent. Quippe Mœsicæ legiones, 'adjutam a se Pannonicorum ultionem,' referentes, et Pannonici, velut absolverentur aliorum seditione, iterare culpam gaudebant. In hortos, in quibus devertebatur Saturninus, pergunt: nec tam Primus et Aponianus et Messala, quamquam omni modo nisi, eripuerunt Saturninum, quam obscuritas latebrarum, quibus occultebatur, vacantium forte balnearum fornacibus abditus: mox, omissis lictoribus, Patavium concessit. (*q*) Digressu Consularium uni Antonio vis ac potestas in utrumque exercitum fuit, cedentibus conlegis, et obversis militum studiis: nec deerant, qui crederent, utramque seditionem fraude Antonii cœptam, ut solus bello frueretur.

XII. Ne in Vitellii quidem partibus quietæ mentes, exitiosiore discordia, non suspicionibus vulgi, sed perfidia Ducum, turbabantur. Lucilius Bassus, (*r*) classis Raven-

*p* This passage seems to have been misunderstood by some of the commentators. They observe, that there was not sufficient time for Vespasian to receive intelligence, and return an answer favourable to Flavianus; but they might have recollected, that he who had a long journey to make, most probably received the letters in question at some place on the road.

*q* *Vacantium—fornacibus.* In the furnace of a bath, then by chance, not in use.

*r* For Lucilius Bassus, see Hist. ii. s. 100.



natis Præfectus, ambiguos militum animos, quod magna pars Dalmatæ Pannonique erant, quæ provinciæ Vespasiano tenebantur, partibus ejus adgregaverat. Nox proditioni electa, ut, ceteris ignaris, soli in principia defectores coi-  
rent. Bassus pudore, seu metu, quisnam exitus foret, intra domum opperiebatur. Trierarchi magno tumultu Vitellii imagines invadunt, et, paucis resistentium obtruncatis, ceterum vulgus, rerum novarum studio, in Vespasianum inclinabat. Tum progressus Lucilius auctorem spe palam præbet: classis Cornelium Fuscum Præfectum sibi destinat, qui propere adcurrit. Bassus honorata custodia liburnicis navibus Hadriam pervectus, a Præfecto alæ Menio Rufino, præsidium illic agitante, vincitur. Sed exsoluta statim vincula, interventu Hormi, Cæsaris liberti: is quoque inter Duces habebatur.

XIII. At Cæcina, defectione classis vulgata, primores Centurionum et paucos militum, ceteris per militiæ munera dispersis, secretiora castrorum, adfectans, in principia vocat. (s) Ibi 'Vespasiani virtutem viresque' partium extollit: 'transfugisse classem: in arcto commeatum: (t) adversus Gallias Hispaniasque: nihil in urbe fidum:' atque omnia de Vitellio in deterius. Mox incipientibus, qui conscii aderant, ceteros, re nova adtonitos, in verba Vespasiani adigit: simul Vitellii imagines direptæ, et missi, qui, Antonio nuntiarent. Sed, ubi totis castris in fama proditio, recurrens in principia miles, præscriptum (u) Vespasiani nomen, projectas Vitellii effigies adspexit, vastum primo silentium, mox cuncta simul erumpunt: 'Huc cecidisse Germanici exercitus gloriam, ut sine prælio, sine vulnere, victas manus et capta traderent arma? (Quas enim ex diverso legiones? nempe victas: et abesse unicum Othoniani exercitus robur, primanos quartadecimanosque; quos tamen, iisdem illis campis, fuderint straverintque) ut armatorum millia, velut grex venalium, exsuli Antonio (v) donum darentur. Octo nimirum legiones unius classis accessionem fore. Id Basso, id Cæcinæ visum: postquam domos, hortos, opes, Principi abstulerint, etiam Principi auferri militem: integros incruentosque, Flavianis quoque

s The part of the camp called *Principia*, was the place where the eagles were deposited.

t In *arcto commeatum*. A scarcity of provisions.

u *Præscriptum*, i. e. on their colours.

v *Exsuli Antonio*. See Ann. xiv. 40.

‘partibus viles, (*w*) militibus quid dicturos, reposcentibus  
‘aut prospera, aut adversa?’

XIV. Hæc singuli, hæc universi, ut quemque dolor in-  
pulerat, vociferantes, initio a quinta legione orto, repositis  
Vitellii imaginibus, vincla Cæcinæ injiciunt: Fabium Fa-  
bullum, quintæ legionis Legatum, et Cassium Longum,  
Præfectum castrorum, duces deligunt: forte oblatos trium  
Liburnicarum milites, ignaros et insontes, trucidant: relic-  
tis castris, abrupto ponte, Hostiliam rursus, inde Cremon-  
nam pergunt, ut legionibus, primæ Italicæ et unietvicesi-  
mæ Rapaci, jungerentur, quas Cæcina ad obtinendam Cre-  
monam, cum parte equitum præmiserat.

XV. Ubi hæc comperta Antonio, discordes animis, dis-  
cretos viribus hostium exercitus adgredi statuit, antequam  
ducibus auctoritas, militi obsequium et junctis legionibus  
fiducia rediret: namque Fabium Valentem, profectum ab  
urbe, acceleraturumque cognita Cæcinæ proditione, con-  
jectabat: et fidus Vitellio Fabius, nec militiæ ignarus.  
Simul ingens Germanorum vis per Rhætiam timebatur: et  
Britannia, Galliaque et Hispania, auxilia Vitellius acciverat  
inmensam belli luem, ni Antonius, id ipsum metuens, festi-  
nato prælio victoriam præcepisset. Universo cum exerci-  
tu, secundis a Verona castris, Bedriacum venit: postero  
die, legionibus ad muniendum retentis, auxiliares cohortes in  
Cremonensem agrum missæ, ut, specie parandarum copia-  
rum, civili præda (*x*) miles inbueretur. Ipse, cum qua-  
tuor millibus equitum, ad octavum a Bedriaco progressus,  
quo licentius popularentur: exploratores (ut mos est) lon-  
gius curabant. (*y*)

XVI. Quinta ferme hora diei erat, cum citus eques, ‘ad-  
‘ventare hostes, prægredi paucos, motum fremitumque  
‘late audiri,’ nuntiavit. Dum Antonius, ‘quidnam agen-  
‘dum,’ consultat, aviditate navandæ operæ Arrius Varus  
cum promptissimis equitum prorupit, inpulitque Vitellianos,  
modica cæde: nam, plurium adcurso versa fortuna, et acer-  
rimus quisque sequentium fugæ ultimus erat: (*z*) nec

*w* *Flavianis—viles.* To be the scorn of the party of Vespasian.

*x* *Civili præda.* With plunder collected from the fields of the  
citizens.

*y* *Exploratores longius curabant.* The scouts took a wider  
range,—to discover the motions of the enemy.

*z* *Acerrimus quisque—ultimus erat.* Those who pursued with the  
most eagerness, were in the rear of the retreat. This is the transla-

sponte Antonii properatum, et fore, quæ acciderant, rebatur. Hortatus suos, 'ut magno animo capessèrent pugnam,' diductis in latera turmis, vacuum medio relinquit iter, quo Varum equitesque ejus reciperet: jussæ armari legiones: datum per agros signum, ut, qua cuique proximum, ommissa præda, prælio occurrerent. Pavidus interim Varus, turbæ suorum miscetur, intulitque formidinem: pulsi cum sauciis integri, suometipsi metu et angustiis viarum conflictabantur.

XVII. Nullum, in illa trepidatione, Antonius constantis ducis, aut fortissimi militis, officium omisit: occursare paventibus; retinere cedentes: ubi plurimus labor, unde aliqua spes; consilio, manu, voce insignis hosti, conspicuus suis: eo postremo ardoris, provectus est, ut vexillarium fugientem hasta transverberaret: mox raptum vexillum in hostem vertit: quo pudore haud plures, quam centum equites, restitere. Juvit locus, arctiore illic via, et fracto interfluentis rivi (*a*) ponte, qui incerto alveo, et præcipitibus ripis, fugam inpediebat: ea necessitas, seu fortuna, lapsas jam partes restituit. Firmati inter se, densis ordinibus excipiunt Vitellianos temere effusos: atque illi consternantur. Antonius instare percussis, sternere obvios. Simul ceteri, ut cuique ingenium, spoliare, capere, arma equosque abripere: et exciti prospero clamore, qui modo per agros fuga palabantur, victoriæ se miscebant.

XVIII. Ad quantum a Cremona lapidem fulsere legionum signa, Rapacis atque Italicæ, (*b*) læto inter initia equitum suorum prælio, illuc usque provecta. Sed, ubi Fortuna contra fuit, non laxare ordines, non recipere turbatos, non obviam ire, ultroque adgredi hostem, tantum per spatium cursu et pugnando fessum. Forte victi, (*c*) haud perinde rebus prosperis ducem desideraverant, atque in adversis deesse intelligebant. Nutantem aciem victor equitatus incursat: et Vipstanius Messala, Tribunus, cum Mœ-

tion of Murphy. Ernestus supposes the sentence to mean; Those who were foremost in the pursuit were the first to fly.

*a* The river now called Dermona, which is in *Gallia Transpadana*; it runs into the *Oglio*, and through that channel into the Po.

*b* The twenty-first legion, called *Rapax*, and the first called *Italic*, fought on the side of Vitellius. See Hist. ii. s. 100.

*c* *Forte victi*. The text here seems corrupt; for they were not yet conquered. Freinshemius supposes it should be read *forte acti*, i. e. rashly, without deliberation.



sicis auxiliariis adsequitur, quos militiæ legionariis, quamquam raptim ductos, æquabant. Ita mixtus eques pedesque rupere legionum agmen. Et propinqua Cremonensium mœnia, quanto plus spei ad effugium, tanto minorem ad resistendum animum, dabant.

XIX. Nec Antonius ultra institit, memor laboris ac vulnerum, quibus tam anceps prælii fortuna, quamvis prospero fine, equites equosque adflctaverat. Inumbrante vespera universum Flaviani exercitus robur advenit. Utque cumulos (*d*) super et recentia cæde vestigia incessere, quasi debellatum foret, ‘pergere Cremonam, et victos in ‘deditionem accipere, aut expugnare,’ deprecantur. Hæc in medio, pulchra dictu. Illa sibi quisque, (*e*) ‘Posse coloniâ plano sitam inpetu capi. Idem audaciæ per tenebras ‘inrumpentibus, et majorem rapiendi licentiam: quod si ‘lucem opperiantur, jam pacem, jam preces et, pro labore ‘ac vulneribus, clementiam et gloriam, inania, laturos: sed ‘opes Cremonensium in sinu Præfectorum Legatorumque ‘fore. Expugnatae urbis prædam ad militem, deditæ ad ‘duces, pertinere.’ Spernuntur Centuriones Tribunique, ac, ne vox cujusquam audiatur, quatiunt arma, rupturi imperium, ni ducantur.

XX. Tum Antonius, inserens se manipulis, ubi adspectu et auctoritate silentium fecerat: ‘non se decus, neque pretium eripere tam bene meritis,’ adfirmabat; ‘sed divisa ‘inter exercitum ducesque munia: militibus cupidinem ‘pugnandi convenire; duces providendo, consultando, ‘cunctatione sæpius, quam temeritate, prodesse. Ut pro ‘virili portione, armis ac manu, victoriam juverit, ratione ‘et consilio. propriis ducis artibus, profuturum. Neque ‘enim ambigua esse, quæ occurrant: noctem et ignotæ situm urbis, intus hostes et cuncta insidiis opportuna: non, ‘si pateant portæ, nisi explorato, nisi die, intrandum. An ‘oppugnationem inchoaturos, adempto omni prospectu, ‘quis æquus locus, quanta altitudo mœnium? tormentisne ‘et telis, an operibus et vineis, adgredienda urbs foret?’ Mox conversus ad singulos, ‘num secures, dolabrasque et ‘cetera expugnandis urbibus, secum adtulissent?’ rogita-

*d Cumulos; i. e. of the slain.*

*e Hæc in medio—quisque.* These things spoken, openly, indicated courage. But each one had his own selfish designs, viz. to acquire booty.

bat. Et, cum abnuerent, ‘gladiisne,’ inquit, ‘et pilis per fringere ac subruere muros ullæ manus possunt? Si aggerem struere, si pluteis cratibusve protegi necesse fuerit, ut vulgus improvidum, inriti stabimus, altitudinem turrium, et aliena munimenta mirantes? Quin potius mora noctis unius, advectis tormentis machinisque, vim victoriamque nobiscum ferimus?’ Simul lixas calonesque, cum recentissimis equitum, Bedriacum mittit, copias, ceteraque usui adlaturos.

XXI. Id vero ægre tolerante milite, prope seditionem ventum, cum progressi equites sub ipsa mœnia, vagos ex Cremonensibus conripiunt: quorum indicio noscitur: ‘sex Vitellianas legiones omnemque exercitum, qui Hostiliæ egerat, eo ipso die triginta millia passuum emensum, comperita suorum clade, in prælium accingi ac jam adfore.’ Is terror obstructas mentes consiliis ducis aperuit. Sistere tertiam decimam legionem, in ipso viæ Postumiæ aggere, jubet, cui juncta a lævo septima Galbiana, patenti campo stetit, dein septima Claudiana, agresti fossa (ita locus erat) præmunita; dextro, octava per apertum limitem, (*f*) mox tertia, densis arbustis intersepta: hic aquilarum signorumque ordo: milites mixti per tenebras, ut fors tulerat: Prætorianum (*g*) vexillum proximum tertianis; cohortes auxiliorum incornibus; latera ac terga equite circumdata: Sindo atque Italicus, Suevi, cum delectis popularium, primori in acie versabantur.

XXII. At Vitellianus exercitus, cui adquiescere Cremonæ et, recipere cibo somnoque viribus, confectum algore atque inedia hostem, postera die profligare ac proruere ratio fuit: (*h*) indigus rectoris, inops consilii, tertia ferme noctis hora, paratis jam dispositisque Flavianis impingitur. Ordinem agminis, disjecti per iram ac tenebras, adseverare non ausim: quamquam alii tradiderint, ‘quartam Macedonicam dextro suorum cornu: quintam, et quintamdecimam, cum vexillis nonæ secundæque et vicesimæ Britannicarum legionum, mediam aciem; sextadecimanos duoetvicesimanosque et primanos lævum cornu comples-

*f* Per apertum limitem. On a wide extended plain.

*g* Prætorianum. The prætorian soldiers of Otho, who having been disbanded by Vitellius, and on that account enraged with him, had joined the party of Vespasian.

*h* Cui—ratio fuit. Whose best course was, viz. to rest at Cremona, &c.

‘se.’ Rapaces atque Italici omnibus se manipulis miscuerant. Eques auxiliaque sibi ipsi locum legere. Prælium tota nocte varium, anceps, atrox; his, rursus illis, exitiabile. Nihil animus, aut manus, ne oculi quidem provisu juvabant: eadem utraque acie arma: crebris interrogationibus notum pugnae signum: (i) permixta vexilla, ut quisque globus, capta ex hostibus, huc vel illuc raptabat. Urgebatur maxime septima legio, nuper a Galba conscripta. Occisi sex primorum ordinum Centuriones: abrepta quædam signa: ipsam aquilam Atilius Verus, primipili Centurio, (j) multa cum hostium strage, et ad extremum moriens, servaverat.

XXIII. Sustinuit labantem aciem Antonius, accitis Prætorianis: qui, ubi excepere pugnam, pellunt hostem, dein pelluntur. Namque Vitelliani tormenta in aggerem viæ contulerant, ut tela vacuo atque aperto excuterentur, dispersa primo et arbustis, sine hostium noxa, inlisa. Magnitudine eximia quintadecimæ legionis balista (k) ingentibus saxis hostilem aciem proruebat: lateque cladem intulissent, ni duo milites, præclarum facinus ausi, adreptis e strage scutis ignorati, vincla ac libramenta tormentorum abscidissent: statim confossi sunt, eoque intercidere nomina: de facto haud ambigitur. Neutro inclinaverat fortuna, donec adulta nocte, luna surgens ostenderet acies falleretque. Sed Flavianis æquior a tergo: hinc majores equorum virorumque umbræ, et falso, ut in corpora, ictu, tela hostium citra cadebant: Vitelliani adverso lumine conlucentes, velut ex occulto jaculantibus, incauti offerebantur.

XXIV. Igitur Antonius, ubi noscere suos noscique poterat, alios pudore et probris, multos laude et hortatu, omnes spe promissisque accendens, ‘cur rursum sumpsissent arma?’ Pannonicas legiones interrogabat: ‘illos esse campos, in quibus abolere labem prioris ignominia, ubi

i *Pugnae signum.* The watch-word.

j *Primipilicenturio.* It appears from this that the first centurion was the standard-bearer. The standard of a Roman legion was a silver eagle, with expanded wings, holding a thunderbolt in his claws. Each manipule had its standard, which was at first a bundle of hay on the top of a pole; afterwards, a spear with a cross piece of wood on the top. The standard of the cavalry was called *vexillum*, a flag or banner which was also used by the veterans.

k *Balistæ* were engines, used in sieges, from which darts and stones of immense size were discharged at the besieged. See Vegetius, book iv. s. 22.



‘reciperare gloriam possent.’ Tum ad Mœsicos conversus, ‘principes auctoresque belli’ ciebat : ‘frustra minis et verbis provocatos Vitellianos, si manus eorum oculosque non tolerarent.’ Hæc, ut quosque accesserat : plura ad tertianos, veterum recentiumque admonens : ut ‘sub M. Antonio Parthos, sub Corbulone Armenios, nuper Sar-matas pepulissent.’ Mox, infensius Prætorianis : ‘Vos,’ inquit, ‘nisi vincitis, pagani, quis alius Imperator, quæ castra alia excipient? Illic signa armaque vestra sunt, et mors victis, nam ignominiam consumpsistis.’ (l) Undique clamor : et orientem solem (ita in Syria mos est) tertiani salutavere. (m)

XXV. Vagus inde, an consilio Ducis subditus rumor, ‘advenisse Mucianum; exercitus invicem salutasse: gradum inferunt, quasi recentibus auxiliis aucti; rariore jam Vitellianorum acie, ut quos, nullo rectore, suis quemque inpetus vel pavor contraheret diduceretve. Postquam impulsos sensit Antonius, denso agmine obturbabat: laxati ordines abrumpuntur: nec restitui quivere, inpedientibus vehiculis tormentisque. Per limitem viæ sparguntur, consectandi festinatione, victores. Eo notabilior cædes fuit, quia filius patrem interfecit: rem nominaque, auctore Vipstano Messala, tradam. Julius Mansuetus, ex Hispania, Rapaci legioni additus, inpubem filium domi liquerat: is mox adultus, inter septimanos a Galba conscriptus, oblatum forte patrem et vulnere stratum, dum semianimem scrutatur, agnitus agnoscensque et exanguem amplexus, voce flebili precabatur ‘piatos patris Manes, neve se ut parricidam aversarentur: publicum id facinus; et unum militem quotam civilium armorum partem?’ simul adtollere corpus, aperire humum, supremo erga parentem officio fungi. Advertere proximi, deinde plures: hinc per omnem aciem miraculum et questus et sævissimi belli exsecratio: nec eo segnius propinquos, adfines, fratres trucidatos (n) spoliant: factum esse scelus loquuntur faciuntque.

XXVI. Ut Cremonam venere, novum inmensumque opus occurrit. Othoniano bello, Germanicus miles mœni-

l *Ignominiam consumpsistis.* You can receive no greater dishonour than that which you have already received from Vitellius. See note g this book, s. 21.

m The eastern nations worshipped the rising sun. The Parthians are described in that act of devotion by Herodian, book iv. chap. 15.

n *Trucidatos.* Some critics have substituted *trucidati*.

bus Cremonensium castra sua, castris vallum circumjecerat : eaque munimenta rursus auxerat : quorum adspectu hæserè victores, incertis Ducibus, quid juberent : incipere oppugnationem, fesso per diem noctemque exercitu, arduum, et, nullo juxta subsidio, anceps : sin Bedriacum redirent, intolerandus tam longi itineris labor, et victoria ad invitum revolvebatur : munire castra ? id quoque, propinquis hostibus, formidolosum, ne dispersos, et opus molientes subita eruptione turbarent : quæ super cuncta terrebat ipsorum miles, periculi quam moræ patientior : quippe ingrata, quæ tuta, ex temeritate spes : omnisque cædes et vulnera et sanguis aviditate prædæ pensabantur.

XXVII. Huc inclinavit Antonius, ‘cingique vallum corona’ jussit : primo sagittis saxisque eminus certabant, majore Flavianorum pernicie, in quos tela desuper librabantur : mox vallum portasque legionibus adtribuit, ut discretus labor fortes ignavosque distingueret, atque ipsa contentione decoris accenderentur. Proxima Bedriacensi viæ tertiani septimanique sumpserè : dexteriora valli octava ac septima Claudiana : tertiadecimanos ad Brixianam (o) portam inpetus tulit. Paullum inde moræ, dum e proximis agris ligones, dolabras, et alii falces, scalasque convectant : tum, elatis super capita scutis, densa testudine succedunt. Romanæ utrimque artes : pondera saxorum Vitelliani provolvunt ; disjectam fluitantemque testudinem lanceis contisque scrutantur : donec, soluta compage scutorum, exsanguis aut laceros prosternerent multa cum strage.

XXVIII. Incesserat cunctatio, ni Duces fesso militi, et velut inritas exhortationes abnuenti, Cremonam monstrassent. Hormine ad ingenium, ut Messala tradit, an potior auctor sit C. Plinius, qui Antonium incusat, haud facile discreverim : nisi, quod neque Antonius, neque Wormus, a fama vitæ suæ, quamvis pessimo flagitio, degeneravere. Non jam sanguis, neque vulnera morabantur, quin subruerent vallum, quaterentque portas ; innixi humeris et super iteratam testudinem scandentes, prensarent hostium tela brachiaque : integri cum sauciis, semineces cum expirantibus, volvuntur, varia pereuntium forma et omni imagine mortium.

XXIX. Acerrimum septimæ tertiæque legionum certamen : et Dux Antonius, cum delectis auxiliariis, eodem

incubuerat. Obstinatos inter se cum sustinere Vitelliani nequirent, et superjacta tela testudine (*p*) laberentur; ipsam postremo balistam in subeuntes propulere: quæ, ut ad præsens disjecit obruitque, quos inciderat, ita pinnas ac summa valli ruina sua traxit: simul juncta turris ictibus saxorum cessit: qua septimani dum nituntur cuneis, tertianus securibus gladiisque portam perfregit. Primum inrupisse C. Volusium, tertiæ legionis militem, inter omnes auctores constat: is in vallum egressus, deturbatis qui restiterant, conspicuus manu ac voce 'capta castra' conclamavit: ceteri, trepidis jam Vitellianis, seque e vallo præcipitantibus, perrupere: completur cæde, quantum inter castra murosque vacui fuit. (*q*)

XXX. At rursus nova laborum facies: ardua urbis mœnia, saxeæ turres, ferrati portarum obices, vibrans tela miles, frequens obstrictusque Vitellianis partibus Cremonensis populus, magna pars Italiæ, stato in eosdem dies mercatu congregata: quod defensoribus auxilium ob multitudinem, oppugnantibus incitamentum ob prædam, erat. 'Rapi 'ignes' Antonius, 'inferique amœnissimis extra urbem ædificiis' jubet; si damno rerum suarum Cremonenses ad mutandam fidem traherentur; propinqua muris tecta, et altitudinem mœnium egressa, fortissimo quoque militum complet: illi trabibus tegulisque et facibus propugnatores deturbant.

XXXI. Jam legiones in testudinem glomerabantur, et alii tela saxaque incutiebant, cum languescere paullatim Vitellianorum animi. Ut quis ordine anteibat, cedere fortunæ: ne, Cremona quoque excisa, nulla ultra venia, omnisque ira victoris, non in vulgus inops, sed in Tribunos, Centurionesque, ubi pretium cædis erat, reverteretur. Gregarius miles, futuri socors et ignobilitate tutior, præstabat. Vagi per vias, in domibus abditi, pacem ne tum quidem orabant, cum bellum posuissent. Primores castrorum nomen atque imagines Vitellii amoliantur: catenas Cæcinæ (nam etiam tum vinctus erat) exsolvunt, orantque, 'ut caus-

*p* The *testudo* was so constructed that the darts of the enemy could make no impression. Whoever is curious about the form of the *testudo*, and other warlike engines employed in sieges, may consult Lucan, book iii. v. 474.

*q* Josephus says, that above thirty thousand of the Vitellians were put to the sword, and of Vespasian's army, about four thousand five hundred. De Bello Jud. book iv. chap. 11.



‘sæ suæ deprecator adsistat :’ adspernantem tumentemque lacrimis fatigant (extremum malorum) tot fortissimi viri, proditoris opem invocantes : mox velamenta et infulas (*r*) pro muris ostentant. Cum Antonius ‘inhiberi tela’ jussisset, signa aquilasque extulere : mœstum inermium agmen, dejectis in terram oculis, sequebatur. Circumstiterant victores, et primo ingerebant probra, intentabant ictus : mox, ut præberi ora contumeliis, et, posita omni ferocia, cuncta victi patiebantur, subit recordatio, illos esse, qui nuper Bedriaci victoriæ temperassent. Sed, ubi Cæcina, prætexta lictoribusque insignis, dimota turba, Consul incessit, exarsere victores : ‘superbiam, sævitiamque’ (adeo invisæ scelera sunt) etiam ‘perfidiam,’ objectabant. Obstitit Antonius, datisque defensoribus, ad Vespasianum dimisit.

XXXII. Plebs interim Cremonensium inter armatos conflictabatur : nec procul cæde aberant, cum precibus Ducum mitigatus est miles. Et vocatos ad concionem Antonius adloquitur, magnifice victores, victos clementer : de Cremona in neutrum. (*s*) Exercitus præter insitam prædandi cupidinem, vetere odio, ad excidium Cremonensium incubuit : juvisse partes Vitellianas, Othonis quoque bello, credebantur : mox tertiadecimanos, ad exstruendum amphitheatrum relictos, ut sunt procacia urbanæ plebis ingenia, petulantibus jurgiis inluserant. Auxit invidiam editum illic a Cæcina gladiatorum spectaculum : eademque rursus belli sedes : et præbiti in acie Vitellianis cibi : cæsæ quædam feminæ, studio partium ad proelium progressæ : tempus quoque mercatus, ditem alioqui coloniam, majorum opum specie complebat. Ceteri Duces in obscuro : Antonium fortuna fama-que omnium oculis exposuerat : is balneas, abluendo cruori, propere petit : excepta vox est, cum teporem incusaret, (*t*) ‘statim, futurum, ut incalescerent.’ Vernile dictum omnem invidiam in eum vertit, tamquam ‘signum incendendæ Cremonæ dedisset, quæ jam flagrabat.

XXXIII. Quadraginta armatorum millia inrupere, calorum lixarumque amplior numerus, et in libidinem ac sævi-

*r Velamenta et infulas.* The display of clothes and sacerdotal vestments in the act of suing for peace has been mentioned, Hist. i. s. 66.

*s De Cremona in neutrum.* That is, he did not manifest whether it was his intention to save Cremona or not.

*t Cum teporem incusaret.* When he complained that the bath was not sufficiently warm.

tiam corruptior. Non dignitas, non ætas protegebat, quo minus stupra cædibus, cædes stupris miscerentur. Grandævus senes, exacta ætate feminas, viles ad prædam, (*u*) in ludibrium trahebant. Ubi adulta virgo, aut quis forma conspicuus, incidisset, vi manibusque rapentium divulsus, ipsos postremo direptores in mutuum perniciem agebat: dum pecuniam, vel gravia auro templorum dona, sibi quisque trahunt, majore aliorum vi truncabantur. Quidam obvia adspersati, verberibus tormentisque dominorum abdita scrutari, defossa eruere. Faces in manibus: quas, ubi prædam egresserant, in vacuas domos et inania templa per lasciviam jaculabantur: utque exercitu, vario linguis, moribus, cui cives, socii, externi interessent, diversæ cupidines, et aliud cuique fas, nec quidquam illicitum. Per quatrimum Cremona suffecit. Cum omnia sacra profanaque in igne considerent, solum Mephitis (*v*) templum stetit ante mœnia, loco, seu Numine defensum.

XXXIV. Hic exitus Cremonæ, anno CCLXXVI. a primordio sui. Condita erat Ti. Sempronio et Cornelio Consulibus, ingruente in Italiam Hannibale, propugnaculum adversus Gallos, trans Padum agentes, et si qua alia vis per Alpes rueret. Igitur numero colonorum, opportunitate fluminum, ubere agri, annexu connubiisque gentium, (*w*) adolevit floruitque, bellis externis intacta; civilibus infelix. Antonius, pudore flagitii, crebescente invidia, edixit, 'ne quis Cremonenses captivos detineret:' inritamque prædam militibus effecerat consensus Italiæ, emptiorem talium mancipiorum adspersantis. Occidi cœpere, quod ubi enotuit, a propinquis adfinibusque occulte redemptabantur: mox rediit Cremonam reliquus populus: reposita fora templeque munificentia municipum: et Vespasiana hortabatur.

XXXV. Ceterum adsidere sepultæ urbis ruinis, noxiatabo humus haud diu permisit: ad tertium lapidem progres-

*u Viles ad prædam.* Who were of no value on account of their age or imbecility. Barbou supposes this the idea. Murphy translates the sentence thus: who had no wealth to satisfy avarice.

*v Mephitis* was the goddess worshipped in all places that sent forth noxious exhalations.

*w* Whoever is curious about the distinctions between what the Romans called *Connubium* and *Matrimonium*, with the different ceremonies observed in each, may consult Brotier's Tacitus, quarto edition, vol. ii. p. 456.

si, vagos paventesque Vitellianos, sua quemque apud signa, componunt. Et victæ legiones, ne, manente adhuc civili bello, ambigue agerent, per Illyricum dispersæ. In Britanniam inde et Hispanias nuntios famamque, in Galliam Julium Calenum, Tribunum: in Germaniam Alpinum Montanum, Præfectum cohortis, quod hic Trevir, Calenus Æduus, uterque Vitelliani fuerant, ostentui misere. Simul transitus Alpium præsiidiis occupati: suspecta Germania, tamquam in auxilium Vitellii accingeretur.

XXXVI. At Vitellius, profecto Cæcina, cum Fabium Valentem, paucis post diebus, ad bellum impulisset, curis luxum obtendebat: non parare arma, non adloquio exercitioque militem firmare, non in ore vulgi agere: sed umbraculis hortorum abditus, ut ignava animalia, quibus si cibum suggeras, jacent torpentque, præterita, instantia, futura, pari oblivione dimiserat. Atque illum, in nemore Aricino (*x*) desidem et marcentem, proditio Lucillii Bassi, ac defectio classis Ravennatis perculit. Nec multo post de Cæcina adfertur mixtus gaudio dolor: et descivisse, et ab exercitu vinctum: plus apud socordem animum lætitia, quam cura valuit: multa cum exultatione in urbem revectus, frequenti concione, 'pietatem militum' laudibus cumulat. 'P. Sabinum, Prætorii Præfectum, ob amicitiam 'Cæcinæ, vinciri' jubet, substituto in locum ejus Alphenno Varo.

XXXVII. Mox Senatum, composita in magnificentiam oratione, adlocutus, exquisitis Patrum adulationibus adtolitur. Initium atrocis in Cæcinam sententiæ a L. Vitellio factum: dein ceteri, composita indignatione, 'quod Consul 'Rempublicam, Dux Imperatorem, tantis opibus, tot honoribus cumulatus, amicum prodidisset,' velut pro Vitellio conquerentes, suum dolorem proferebant. Nulla in oratione cujusquam erga Flavianos Duces obtrectatio: 'errorem imprudentiamque exercituum' culpantes, Vespasiani nomen suspensi et vitabundi circumibant. Nec defuit, qui unum Consulatus diem (is enim in locum Cæcinæ superebat) magno cum inrisu tribuentis accipientisque, eblandiretur: pridie Kal. Novembris Rosius Regulus iniit, ejuravitque. Adnotabant periti, 'nunquam antea, non abrogato

*x Aricia*, a town of Latium in Italy, at the foot of *Mons Albanus*, about a hundred and sixty stadia from Rome. The grove called *Aricinum nemus* was in the vicinity.



' Magistratu, neque lege lata, alium suffectum : ' nam Consul unodie et ante fuerat Caninius Rebilus, (y) C. Cæsare Dictatore, cum belli civilis præmia festinarentur.

XXXVIII. Nota per eos dies Junii Blæsi mors et famosa fuit : de qua sic accepimus. Gravi corporis morbo æger Vitellius. Servilianis hortis, turrim vicino sitam conlucere, per noctem, crebris luminibus animadvertit. Sciscitanti caussam, ' apud Cæcinam Tuscum epulari multos, præcipuum honore Junium Blæsum, ' nuntiatur : cetera in majus, de ' adparatu et solutis in lasciviam animis : ' nec defuere, qui ipsum Tuscum et alios, sed criminosius Blæsum, incusarent, ' quod, ægro Principe, lætos dies ageret. ' Ubi asperatum Vitellium, et posse Blæsum perverti, satis patuit iis, qui Principum offensas, acriter speculantur, datæ L. Vitellio delationis partes. Ille infensus Blæso æmulatione prava, quod eum, omni dedecore maculosum, egregia fama anteibat, cubiculum Imperatoris reserat, filium ejus sinu complexus et genibus accidens : caussam confusionis quærenti, ' non se proprio metu, nec sui anxium, sed pro ' fratre, pro liberis fratris, preces lacrimasque adtulisse. ' Frustra Vespasianum timeri, quem tot Germanicæ legiones, tot provinciæ virtute ac fide, tantum denique terrarum ac maris immensis spatiis, arceat. In urbe ac sinu cavendum hostem, Junios Antoniosque avos jactantem, qui se stirpe Imperatoria, comem ac magnificum militibus, ostentet. Versas illuc omnium mentes, dum Vitellius, amicorum inimicorumque negligens, foveat æmulum, ' Principis lobores (z) e convivio prospectantem. Reddendam pro intempestiva lætitia mœstam et funebrem noctem, qua sciat et sentiat, vivere Vitellium et imperare ' et, si quid fato accidat filium habere. '

XXXIX. Trepidanti inter scelus metumque, ne dilata Blæsi mors maturam perniciem, palam jussa atrocem invdiam, ferret, placuit veneno grassari. Addidit facinori

y The consulship, in the time of the Republic, was an annual magistracy ; but Julius Cæsar, in haste to reward his friends, shortened the duration of the office, and advanced several to that dignity within the year. He was himself sole consul, A. U. C. 709 ; he resigned in favour of Fabius Maximus and Caius Trebonius Nepos. The former dying on the very last day in the year, he appointed Caninius Rebilus to fill the remaining space.

z *Principis labores.* The languid condition of the Emperor.

fidem nobili gaudio, (a) Blæsum visendo: quin et audita est sæviſſima Vitellii vox, qua 'se' (ipsa enim verba referam) 'pavisse oculos, spectata inimici morte,' jactavit. Blæso, super claritatem natalium et elegantiam morum, fidei obstinatio fuit. Integris quoque rebus, a Cæcina et primoribus partium, jam Vitellium adspernantibus, ambitus, abnuere perseveravit: sanctus, inturbidus, nullius, repentini honoris, adeo non Principatus adpetens, parum effugerat, ne dignus crederetur. (b)

XL. Fabius interim Valens, multo ac molli concubinarum spadonumque agmine segnius quam ad bellum incedens, 'proditam a Lucilio Basso Ravennatem classem,' pernicious nuntiis accepit. Et, si cœptum iter properasset, nutantem Cæcinam prævenire, aut, ante discrimen pugnæ, adsequi legiones potuisset. Nec deerant, qui monerent, 'ut cum fidissimis per occultos tramites, vitata Ravenna, (c) Hostiliam Cremonamve pergeret.' Aliis placebat, 'accitis ex urbe Prætoriiis cohortibus valida manu perrumpere.' Ipse, inutili cunctatione, agendi tempora consultando consumpsit: mox utrumque consilium adspernatus, quod inter ancipitia deterrimum est, dum mediâ sequitur, nec ausus est satis, nec providit.

XLI. Missis ad Vitellium litteris, auxilium postulat. Venere tres cohortes cum ala Britannica: neque ad fallendum aptus numerus, neque ad penetrandum. Sed Valens ne in tanto quidem discrimine infamia caruit, quo minus rapere illicitas voluptates, adulteriisque ac stupris pollueri hospitum domus, crederetur: aderant vis et pecunia et ruentis fortunæ novissima libido. (d) Adventu demum peditum equitumque pravitas consilii patuit, quia nec videri per hostes tam parva manu poterat, etiam si fidissima foret, nec integram fidem adtulerant. Pudor tamen et præsentis Ducis reverentia morabatur, haud diuturna vincula apud avidos periculorum et dedecoris securos. Eo me-

a *Nobili gaudio*, with great joy.

b *Parum effugerat—crederetur*. He narrowly escaped being deemed worthy of the succession.

c Ravenna, an ancient city of Italy, near the coast of the Adriatic. It is still called Ravenna.

d *Et ruentis fortunæ novissima libido*. He gave greater licence to his passions because he foresaw a reverse of fortune.

tu, (e) cohortes Ariminum (f) præmittit, alam 'tueri terga' jubet: ipse, paucis, quos adversa non mutaverant, comitantibus, flexit in Umbriam, (g) atque inde Etruriam: ubi, cognito pugnae Cremonensis eventu, non ignavum, et, si provenisset, atrox consilium iniit, ut, adreptis navibus, in quamcunque partem Narbonensis provinciæ egressus, Gallias et exercitus et Germaniæ gentes novumque bellum cieret.

XLII. Digresso Valente, trepidos, qui Ariminum tenebant, Cornelius Fuscus, admoto exercitu, et missis per proxima litorum Liburnicis, terra marique circumvenit. Occupantur plana Umbriæ et qua Picens ager Adria adluitur: omnisque Italia, inter Vespasianum ac Vitellium, Apennini jugis dividebatur. Fabius Valens, e sinu Pisano, (h) sævitia maris, aut adversante vento, Portum Herculis Monæci depellitur: haud procul inde agebat Marius Maturus, Alpium maritimarum Procurator, fidus Vitellio, cujus sacramentum, cunctis circa hostilibus, nondum exuerat. Is Valentem comiter exceptum, 'ne Galliam Narbonensem' temere ingrederetur,' monendo terruit: simul ceterorum fides metu infracta: namque circumjectas civitates Procurator Valerius Paullinus, strenuus militiæ, et Vespasiano ante fortunam amicus in verba ejus adegerat.

XLIII. Concitisque omnibus, qui exauctorati a Vitellio bellum sponte sumebant, Forojuliensem coloniam, claustra maris, præsidio tuebatur: eo gravior auctor, quod Paullino patria Forum Julii, et honos apud Prætorianos, quorum quondam Tribunus fuerat. Ipsique pagani, favore municipali et futuræ potentiæ spe, juvare partes adnitebantur: quæ ubi paratu firma, et aucta rumore, apud varios Vitellianorum animos increbuere, Fabius Valens cum quatuor speculatoribus et tribus amicis, totidem Centurionibus, ad naves regreditur: Maturo ceterisque remanere, et in verba Vespasiani adigi, volentibus fuit. Ceterum ut mare tutius Valenti, quam litora, aut urbes; ita futuri ambiguus, et magis, quid vitaret, quam cui fideret, certus, adversa tem-

e *Eo metu*, i. e. lest his soldiers should desert him.

f Ariminum, a town of Umbria, at the mouth of the river Ariminus, on the gulf of Venice.

g Umbria, a division of Italy, to the south-east of Etruria, between the Adriatic and the Nar.

h *Sinu Pisano*. The bay of Pisa, in Etruria.



pestate Stœchadas, (*i*) Massiliensium insulas, adfertur : ibi cum missæ a Paullino liburnicæ oppressere.

XLIV. Capto Valente, cuncta ad victoris opes conversa, initio per Hispaniam a prima Adjutrice legione orto, quæ, memoria Othonis infensa Vitellio, decimam quoque ac sextam traxit. Nec Galliæ cunctabantur. Et Britanniam inclitus erga Vespasianum favor, quod illic secundæ legioni a Claudio præpositus et bello clarus egerat, non sine motu adjunxit ceterarum, (*j*) in quibus plerique Centuriones ac milites a Vitellio provecti, expertum jam Principem anxii mutabant.

XLV. Ea discordia, et crebris belli civilis rumoribus, Britanni sustulere animos, auctore Venutio : qui, super insitam ferociam et Romani nominis odium, propriis in Cartismanduam Reginam stimulis accendebatur. Cartismandua Brigantibus imperitabat, pollens nobilitate : et auxerat potentiam, postquam, capto per dolum Rege Caractaco (*k*) instruxisse triumphum Claudii Cæsaris videbatur. Inde opes, et rerum secundarum luxus : spreto Venutio (is fuit maritus) armigerum ejus, Vellocatum, in matrimonium Regnumque accepit. Concussa statim flagitio domus. Pro marito studia civitatis ; pro adultero libido Reginæ et sævitia. Igitur Venutius accitis auxiliis, simul ipsorum Brigantum defectione, in extremum discrimen Cartismanduam adduxit. Tum petita a Romanis præsidia : et cohortes alæque nostræ, variis præliis, exemere tamen periculo Reginam. Regnum Venutio, bellum nobis, relictum.

XLVI. Turbata per eosdem dies Germania, et socordia ducum, et seditione legionum. Externa vi, perfidia sociali, prope adflicta Romana res. Id bellum cum caussis et eventibus (etenim longius provectum est) mox memorabimus. Mota et Dacorum gens, numquam fida, tunc sine metu, abducto e Mœsia exercitu. Sed prima rerum quieti speculabantur : (*l*) ubi flagrare Italiam bello, cuncta invicem hostilia, acceperere, expugnatis cohortium alarumque hibernis utraque Danubii ripa potiebantur. Jamque castra

*i* Stæchades, five islands, now called the Hieres, on the coast of Provence.

*j* Non sine motu ceterarum. Legionum is understood.

*k* For Caractacus and Cartismandua queen of the Brigantes, see Annals, xii. s. 32 to 36.

*l* Sèd prima, etc. But they quietly watched the first movements of civil discord among the Romans.

legionum excindere parabant, ni Mucianus sextam legionem opposuisset, Cremonensis victoriæ gnarus, ac ne externa moles utrimque ingrueret, si Dacus Germanusque diversi inrupissent. Adfuit, ut sæpe alias, Fortuna Populi Romani, quæ Mucianum viresque Orientis illuc tulit: et quod Cremonæ interim transegitur. Fonteius Agrippa (*m*) ex Asia (pro Consule eam provinciam annuo imperio tenuerat) Mœsiæ præpositus est: additis copiis e Vitelliano exercitu, quem spargi per provincias, et externo bello inligari, pars consilii pacisque erat. Nec ceteræ nationes silebant.

XLVII. Subita per Pontum arma barbarum mancipium, Regiæ quondam classis Præfectus, moverat: is fuit Anicetus, Polemonis (*n*) libertus, præpotens olim, et, postquam regnum in formam provinciæ verterat, mutationis inpatiens. Igitur Vitellii nomine, adscitis gentibus, quæ Pontum adcolunt, corrupto in spem rapinarum egentissimo quoque, haud temnendæ manus ductor, Trapezuntem, (*o*) vetusta fama civitatem, a Græcis, in extremo Ponticæ oræ conditam, subitus inrupit. Cæsa ibi cohors, Regium auxilium olim, mox donati civitate Romana, (*p*) signa armaque in nostrum modum, desidiâ licentiamque Græcorum, retinebant. Classi quoque faces intulit, vacuo mari, eludens, quia lectissimas Liburnicarum, omnemque militem Mucianus Byzantium adegerat. Quin et barbari contemptim vagabantur, fabricatis repente navibus, (*q*) ('camaras' vocant) arctis lateribus, lata alvo, sine vinculo æris aut ferri connexa: et tumido mari, prout fluxus adtollitur, summa navium tabulis augent, donec in modum tecti claudantur. Sic inter undas volvuntur, pari utrimque prora, et mutabili remigio, quando hinc vel illinc adpellere indiscretum et innoxium est.

*m* According to Josephus, Fonteius Agrippa was afterwards murdered by the Sarmatians. Bell. Jud. book viii. c. 4.

*n* Polemon was made king of Pontus by Caligula; and, after his death, the kingdom was changed by Nero into a Roman province. Suetonius, in Nero, s. 18.

*o* Now Trebizonde.

*p* Donati civitate Romana. Having received the privilege of Roman citizens. By granting the freedom of the city, the Romans drew distant colonies into close alliance.

*q* These canoes were so light, that the barbarians could carry them on their shoulders, and traverse woods and forests without being fatigued with their load.

XLVIII. Advertit ea res Vespasiani animum, ut vexillarios e legionibus, Ducemque Viridium Geminum, spectatæ militiæ, deligere. Ille incompositum, et prædæ cupidine vagum hostem adortus, coëgit in naves : effectisque raptim liburnicis, adsequitur Anicetum in ostio fluminis Cohibi, (*r*) tutum sub Sedochezorum Regis auxilio (*s*) quem pecunia donisque ad societatem perpulerat. Ac primo Rex minis armisque supplicem tueri : postquam merces proditionis aut bellum ostendebatur ; fluxa, ut est barbaris, fide, pactus Aniceti exitium, perfugas tradidit, belloque servili finis inpositus. Lætum ea victoria Vespasianum, cunctis super vota fluentibus, Cremonensis prælii nuntius in Ægypto adsequitur. Eo properantius Alexandriam pergit, ut, fracto Vitellii exercitu, urbem quoque externæ opis indigam fame urgeret. Namque et Africam, eodem latere sitam, terra marique invadere parabat, clausis annonæ subsidiis, inopiam ac discordiam hosti factururus.

XLIX. Dum hac totius orbis mutatione fortuna Imperii transit, Primus Antonius nequaquam pari innocentia post Cremonam agebat ; satisfactum bello ratus et cetera ex facili, seu felicitas in tali ingenio avaritiam, superbiam ceteraque occulta mala patefecit : ut captam, Italiam persultare ; ut suas, legiones colere : omnibus dictis factisque viam sibi ad potentiam struere : utque licentia militem inbueret, interfectorum Centurionum ordines legionibus offerebat : (*t*) eo suffragio turbidissimus quisque delecti : nec miles in arbitrio ducum, sed duces militari violentia trahebantur : quæ seditiosa, et conrumpendæ disciplinæ, mox in prædam vertebat, (*u*) nihil adventantem Mucianum veritus ; quod exitiosius erat, quam Vespasianum sprevisse.

L. Ceterum propinqua hieme, et humentibus Pado cam-

*r* The river *Cohibus*, Brotier says, ought to be called *Cobum*, being the same mentioned by the Elder Pliny, book vi. s. 4. *Flumen Cobum e Caucasio per Suanos fluens*. It discharges itself into the Euxine.

*s* The commentators agree that there is here an error in the text : instead of *Sedochezorum regis*, the true reading is, *sub Sedochi Lazorum regis auxilio*. The *Lazi* were a people of Sarmatia, on the east side of the Euxine.

*t* *Ordines offerebat*. He allowed the legions to elect such centurions as they pleased.

*u* *Quæ seditiosa—vertebat*. From the pursuit of these measures which were seditious in their tendency and calculated to destroy discipline, he turned his attention to plunder.



pis, expeditum agmen incedere. Signa aquilæque victri-  
cium legionum, milites vulneribus aut ætate graves, pleri-  
que etiam integri, Veronæ relictæ: sufficere cohortes alæ-  
que, et e legionibus lecti, profligato jam bello, videbantur.  
Undecima legio sese adjunxerat, initio cunctata; sed, pros-  
peris rebus, anxia, quod defuisset. Sex millia Dalmata-  
rum, recens delectus, comitabantur. Ducebat Poppæus  
Silvanus, Consularis: vis consiliorum penes Annium Bas-  
sum, legionis Legatum: is Silvanum socordem bello, et  
dies rerum (v) verbis terentem, specie obsequii regebat,  
ad omniaque, quæ agenda forent, quæta cum industria ade-  
rat. Ad has copias, e classicis Ravennatibus, legionariam  
militiam poscentibus, optimus quisque adsciti: classem  
Dalmatæ suplevare. Exercitus Ducesque ad Fanum For-  
tunæ (w) iter sistunt, de summa rerum cunctantes, quod,  
'motas ex urbe Prætorias cohortes,' audierant, et teneri  
præsidii Apenninum rebantur: et ipsos, in regione bello  
adtrita, inopia et seditiosæ militum voces terrebant, 'clavari-  
'um' (x) flagitantium: nec pecuniam aut frumentum pro-  
viderant: et festinatio atque aviditas præpediebant, dum,  
quæ accipi poterant, rapiuntur.

LI. Celeberrimos auctores habeo, tantam victoribus ad-  
versus fas nefasque inreverentiam fuisse, ut gregarius eques,  
occisum a se, proxima acie, fratrem professus, præmium a  
Ducibus petierit. Nec illis aut honorare eam cædem jus  
hominum, (y) aut ulcisci ratio belli, permittebat. Distu-  
lerant, tamquam majora meritum, quam quæ statim exsol-  
verentur: nec quidquam ultra traditur. Ceterum et pri-  
oribus civium bellis par scelus inciderat: nam prælio, quod  
apud Janiculum (z) adversus Cinnam pugnatum est, Pom-  
peianus miles fratrem suum, dein, cognito facinore, seipsum

v *Dies rerum.* The time when he ought to act.

w *Fanum Fortunæ.* Now *Fano*, a port town of *Urbino*, on the  
Adriatic.

x *Clavarium* was a donative granted to the soldiers to enable them  
to purchase nails for their shoes. In like manner, the donative for  
shoes was called *Calcearium*.

y *Jus hominum.* The law of nations, or natural law.

z *Janiculum*, a high hill at Rome, but not one of the seven; now  
called *Monte Gianicolo*, and more commonly *Montorio*. The story  
of a soldier killing his brother in battle, and on the discovery despatch-  
ing himself, is told by Valerius Maximus, book v. chap. 5. s. 4. but  
attributed to a soldier under Sertorius. See Livy's *Epitome*, book  
lxxix.

interfecit, ut Sisenna memorat: tanto acrior apud majores, sicut virtutibus gloria, ita flagitiis pœnitentia, fuit. Sed hæc aliaque, ex veteri memoria petita, quotiens res locusque exempla recti, aut solatia mali, poscet, haud absurde memorabimus.

LII. Antonio, ducibusque partium, ‘præmitti equites, omnemque Umbriam explorari’ placuit, si ‘qua Apennini’ juga clementius adirentur: acciri aquilas signaque et quid ‘quid Veronæ militum foret: Padumque et mare commatibus compleri.’ Erant inter duces, qui necterent moras: quippe nimius jam Antonius, et certiora ex Muciano sperabantur. Namque Mucianus, tam celeri victoria anxius, et, ni præsens urbe potiretur, expertem se belli gloriæque ratus, ad Primum et Varum media scriptitabat, (a) ‘instandum cœptis,’ aut rursus ‘cunctandi utilitates’ edisserens, atque ita compositus, ut ex eventu rerum adversa abnueret, vel prospera agnosceret. Plotium Griphum, nuper ab Vespasiano in Senatorium ordinem additum, ac legioni præpositum, ceterosque sibi fidos, apertius monuit. Iique omnes, de festinatione Primi ac Vari sinistre, et Muciano volentia, rescripsere. (b) Quibus epistolis Vespasiano missis, effecerat, ut non pro spe Antonii consilia factaque ejus æstimarentur.

LIII. Ægre id pati Antonius, et culpam in Mucianum conferre, cujus criminationibus evilaissent pericula sua: (c) nec sermonibus temperabat, immodicus lingua, et obsequi insolens: litteras ad Vespasianum composuit, jactantius quam ad Principem, nec sine occulta in Mucianum insecratione: ‘se Pannonias legiones in arma egisse: suis stimulis excitos Mœsiæ duces: sua constantia perruptas Alpes, occupatam Italiam, intersepta Germanorum Rhætorumque auxilia. Quod discordes dispersasque Vitellii legiones equestri procella, mox peditum vi, per diem noctemque, fudisset, id pulcherrimum et sui operis. Casum Cremonæ bello inputandum: majore damno, plurium urbium excidiis, veteres civium discordias Reipublicæ stetisse. Non se nuntiis, neque epistolis, sed manu et armis Impe-

*a Media scriptitabat.* His letters were dark, ambiguous.

*b Iique omnes—Muciano volentia, rescripsere.* They all returned answers agreeable to Mucianus.

*c Cujus criminationibus, etc.* By the accusations or insinuations of whom, his own services were undervalued.

‘ratori suo militare : neque officere gloriæ eorum, qui  
 ‘Asiam interim composuerint : illis Mœsiæ pacem, sibi  
 ‘salutem securitatemque Italiæ, cordi fuisse. Suis exhortationibus Gallias Hispaniasque, validissimam terrarum partem, ad Vespasianum conversas. Sed cecidisse in inritum labores, si præmia periculorum soli adsequantur, qui periculis non adfuerint.’ Nec fefellere ea Mucianum : inde graves similitates quas Antonius simplicius, Mucianus callide, eoque inplacabilius nutriebat.

LIV. At Vitellius, fractis apud Cremonam rebus, nuntios cladis occultans, stulta dissimulatione, remedia potius malorum, quam mala, differebat. Quippe confitenti consultantique supererant spes viresque : cum e contrario læta omnia fingeret, falsis ingravescebat. Mirum apud ipsum de bello silentium : prohibiti per civitatem sermones : eoque plures, ac, si liceret, vere narraturi ; quia vetabantur, atrociora vulgaverant. Nec duces hostium augendæ famæ deerant, captos Vitellii exploratores circumductosque, ut robora victoris exercitus noscerent, remittendo : quos omnes Vitellius, secreto percunctatus, interfici iussit. Notabili constantia Centurio, Julius Agrestis, post multos sermones, quibus Vitellium ad virtutem frustra accendebat, perpulit, ut ad vires hostium spectandas, quæque apud Cremonam acta forent, ipse mitteretur. Nec exploratione occulta fallere Antonium tentavit, sed mandata Imperatoris suumque animum professus, ut cuncta viseret, postulat. Missi, qui locum prælii, Cremonæ vestigia, captas legiones ostenderent, Agrestis ad Vitellium remeavit, abnuentique, ‘vera esse, quæ adferret,’ atque ultra ‘conruptum’ arguenti : ‘quandoquidem,’ inquit, ‘magno documento opus est, nec alius jam tibi aut vitæ, aut mortis meæ usus, dabo, cui credas :’ atque ita digressus, voluntaria morte dicta firmavit. Quidam ‘jussu Vitellii interfectum ;’ de ‘fide constantiaque’ eadem, tradidere.

LV. Vitellius, ut e somno excitus, ‘Julium Priscum et Alphenum Varum cum quatuordecim Prætoriis cohortibus et omnibus equitum alijs obsidere Apenninum’ jubet. Secuta e classicis legio. Tot millia armatorum, lecta equis virisque, si Dux alius foret, inferendo quoque bello satis pollebant. Ceteræ cohortes ad tuendam urbem L. Vitellio fratri datæ. Ipse, nihil e solito luxu remittens, et diffidentia properus, festinare comitia, quibus Consules in



multos annos destinabat: fœdera sociis, Latium (*d*) externis, dilargiri: his tributa dimittere, alios inmunitatibus juvare: denique, nulla in posterum cura, lacerare Imperium. Sed vulgus ad magnitudinem beneficiorum aderat: stultissimus quisque pecuniis mercebatur: apud sapientes cassa habebantur, quæ neque dari, neque accipi, salva Republica, poterant. Tandem flagitante exercitu, qui Mevaniam insederat, magno Senatorum agmine, quorum multos ambitione, plures formidine trahebat, in castra venit, incertus animi, et infidis consiliis obnoxius.

LVI. Concionanti (prodigiosum dictu) tantum fœdarum volucrum supervolitavit, ut nube atradiem obtenderent. Accessit dirum omen, profugus altaribus taurus, disjecto sacrificii adparatu, longe, nec, ubi feriri hostias mos est, confossus. Sed præcipuum ipse Vitellius ostentum erat, ignarus militiæ, improvidus consilii, 'quis ordo agminis, quæ cura ex-  
'plorandi, quantus urgendo trahendove bello modus,' alios rogitans, et ad omnes nuntios, vultu quoque et incessu trepidus, dein temulentus. Postremo tædio castrorum, et, audita defectione Misenensis classis, Romam revertit, recentissimum quodque vulnus pavens, summi discriminis incuriosus. Nam, cum transgredi Apenninum, integro exercitus sui robore, et fessos hieme atque inopia hostes adgredi, in aperto foret; dum dispergit vires, acerrimum militem, et usque in extrema obstinatum, trucidandum capiendumque tradidit, peritissimis Centurionum dissentientibus, et, si consulerentur, vera dicturis. Arcuere eos intimi amicorum Vitellii, ita formatis Principis auribus, ut aspere, quæ utilia, nec quidquam, nisi jucundum et læsurum, acciperet.

LVII. Sed classem Misenensem (tantum civilibus discordiis etiam singulorum audacia valet) Claudius Faventinus, Centurio, per ignominiam a Galba dimissus, ad defectionem traxit, fictis Vespasiani epistolis pretium proditiōis ostentans. Præerat classi Claudius Apollinaris, neque fidei constans, neque strenuus in perfidia: et Apinius Tiro, Prætura functus, ac tum forte Minturnis (*e*) agens, ducem se defectoribus obtulit: a quibus municipia coloniæque impulsæ, præcipuo Puteolanorum in Vespasianum studia, contra Ca-

<sup>d</sup> For an account of the privileges conferred by the *jus civitatis*, *jus Latii* and *jus Italicum*, see Adams' Roman Antiquities, p. 72, 74.

<sup>e</sup> Minturnæ was a town on the confines of Campania near the river Liris.

pua Vitellio fida, municipalem æmulationem bellis civilibus miscebant. Vitellius Claudium Julianum (is nuper classem Misenensem molli imperio rexerat) permulcendis militum animis delegit: data in auxilium urbana cohors et gladiatores, quibus Julianus præerat. Ut conlata utrimque castra, haud magna cunctatione Juliano in partes Vespasiani transgresso, Tarracinam occupavere, mœnibus situque magis, quam ipsorum ingenio tutam.

LVIII. Quæ ubi Vitellio cognita, parte copiarum Narniæ (*f*) cum Præfectis Prætorii relicta, L. Vitellium fratrem, cum sex cohortibus et quingentis equitibus, ingruenti per Campaniam bello opposuit. Ipse æger animi, studiis militum et clamoribus populi, arma poscentis, refovebatur: dum vulgus ignavum, et nihil ultra verba ausurum, falsa specie ‘exercitum’ et ‘legiones’ adpellat. Hortantibus libertis (nam amicorum ejus quanto quis clarior, minus fidus) ‘vocari tribus’ jubet. Dantes nomina sacramento adigit: superfluente multitudine, curam delectus in Consules partitur. Servorum numerum et pondus argenti Senatoribus indicit. Equites Romani obtulere operam pecuniasque, etiam libertinis idem munus ultro flagitantibus. Ea simulatio officii, a metu profecta, verterat in favorem. (*g*) Et plerique haud perinde Vitellium, quam casum locumque Principatus, miserabantur: nec deerat ipse: vultu, voce, lacrimis, misericordiam elicere: largus promissis, et, quæ natura trepidantium est, inmodicus. Quin et ‘Cæsarem’ se dici voluit, adspernatus antea: sed tunc, superstitione nominis, et quia in metu consilia prudentium et vulgi rumor juxta audiuntur. Ceterum, ut omnia inconsulti inpetus coepta, initiis valida, spatio languescunt, dilabi paullatim Senatores Equitesque, primo cunctanter, et, ubi ipse non aderat, mox contemptim et sine discrimine; donec Vitellius pudore inriti conatus, quæ non dabantur, remisit.

LIX. Ut terrorem Italiæ possessa Mevania, (*h*) ac velut renatum ex integro bellum, intulerat: ita haud dubium erga Flavianas partes studium tam pavidus Vitellii discessus ad-

*f* Narnia, a town of Umbria on the river Nar; now Narni in the territory of the Pope.

*g* *Ea simulatio officii, a metu profecta, verterat in favorem.* This pretence of friendship or fidelity, which originated in fear, at length became real ardour.

*h* Mevania, a town of Umbria near the Clitumnus. a river that runs west into the Tiber.

didit. Erectus Samnis Pelignusque et Marsi (i) æmulatione, quod Campania prævenisset, ut in novo obsequio, ad cuncta belli munia acres erant. Sed fœda hieme, per transitum Apennini conflictatus exercitus, et vix quieto agmine nives eluctantibus, patuit, quantum discriminis adeundum foret, ni Vitellium retro Fortuna vertisset: quæ Flavianis Ducibus non minus sæpe, quam ratio, adfuit. Obvium illic Petilium Cerialem habuere, agresti cultu et notitia locorum custodias Vitellii elapsam. Propinqua adfinitas Ceriali cum Vespasiano, nec ipse inglorius militiæ: eoque inter duces adsumptus est. Flavio quoque Sabino ac Domitiano patuisse effugium, multi tradidere. Et missi ab Antonio nuntii per varias fallendi artes penetrabant, locum ac præsidium monstrantes. Sabinus inhabilem labori et audaciæ valetudinem caussabatur: Domitiano aderat animus; sed custodes a Vitellio additi, quamquam se socios fugæ promitterent, tamquam insidiantes timebantur. Atque ipse Vitellius, respectu suarum necessitudinum, nihil in Domitianum atrox parabat.

LX. Duces partium ut Carsulas (j) venire, paucos ad requiem dies sumunt, donec aquilæ signaque legionum adsequerentur: et locus ipse castrorum placebat, late prospectans: tuto copiarum adgestu: florentissimis pone tergum municipiis: simul colloquia cum Vitellianis, decem millium spatio distantibus, et proditio sperabatur. Ægre id pati miles, et victoriam malle, quam pacem: ne suas quidem legiones opperiebantur, ut prædæ, quam periculorum (k) socias. Vocatos ad concionem Antonius docuit: 'esse adhuc Vitellio vires, ambiguas, si deliberarent; acres, si desperassent. Initia bellorum civilium fortunæ permit-tenda; victoriam consiliis et ratione perfici. Jam Misennensem classem et pulcherrimam Campaniæ oram descivisse: nec plus e toto terrarum orbe reliquum Vitellio, quam quod inter Tarracinam Narniamque jaceat. Satis gloriæ prælio Cremonensi partum, et exitio Cremonæ nimium invidiæ: ne concupiscerent Romam capere potius,

i Samnis, or Samnites, a people of Ancient Italy, dwelling on both sides of the Apennine, famous in the Roman wars. Peligni, a people of Italy, who dwelt near the Sabines and Marsi. Marsi, a people who dwelt round the *Lacus Fucinus*.

j Carsulæ, a town of Umbria; now in ruins.

k Prædæ, quam periculorum. Supply *potius*. This mode of expression is frequently found in Tacitus.



‘quam servare: majora illis præmia, et multo maximum decus, si incolumitatem Senatui Populoque Romani sine sanguine quæsissent.’

LXI. His ac talibus mitigati animi. Nec multo post legiones venere. Et terrore famaue aucti exercitus Vitellianæ cohortes nutabant, nullo in bellum adhortante, multis ad transitionem, qui suas centurias turmasque tradere, donum victori, et sibi in posterum gratiam, certabant. Per eos cognitum est, ‘Interamnam (*l*) proximis campis præsidio quadringentorum equitum teneri.’ Missus extemplo Varus, cum expedita manu, paucos repugnantium interfecit: plures, abjectis armis, veniam petivere: quidam in castra refugi, cuncta formidine inplebant, augendo rumoribus virtutem copiasque hostium, quo amissi præsidii dedecus lenirent. Nec ulla apud Vitellianos flagitii pœna: et præmiis defectorum versa fides, (*m*) ac reliquum perfidiæ certamen: crebra transfugia Tribunorum Centurionumque: nam gregarius miles induruerat pro Vitellio: donec Priscus et Alphenus, desertis castris, ad Vitellium regressi, pudore proditionis cunctos exsolverent.

LXII. Iisdem diebus Fabius Valens Urbini (*n*) in custodia interficitur. Caput ejus Vitellianis cohortibus ostentatum, ne quam ultra spem foverent: nam, ‘pervasisse in Germanias Valentem, et veteres illic novosque exercitus ciere,’ credebant. Visa cæde in desperationem versi: et Flavianus exercitus, inmane quantum (*o*) animo exitium Valentis, ut finem belli, accepit. Natus erat Valens Anagninæ, Equestri familiæ: procax moribus, neque absurdus ingenio, famam urbanitatis per lasciviam petere. Ludicro juvenalium sub Nerone, velut ex necessitate, mox sponte, mimos actitavit, scite magis quam probe. Legatus legionis et fovit Virginium et infamavit. Fonteium Capitonem (*p*) corruptum, seu quia corrumpere nequiverat, interfecit. Galbæ proditor: Vitellio fidus et aliorum perfidia illustratus.

*l* Interamna, an ancient town of the Volsci in Latium, not far from the river Linis. It is now in ruins.

*m* *Versa fides*. Ernestus supposes the text should be *certa fides*.

*n* Urbinum, now Urbino, a city famous for having given birth to the celebrated painter Raphael.

*o* *Inmane quantum*. A greek idiom for *summo opere, mirum in modum*. See Horace, *vino et lucernis Medus acinaces Inmane quantum discrepat*.

*p* *Fonteium Capitonem*—interfecit. See Hist. i. 7.

LXIII. Abrupta undique spe, Vitellianus miles, transiturus in partes, id quoque non sine dedecore, (*q*) sed sub signis vexillisque in subjectos Narniæ campos descendere. Flavianus exercitus, ut ad prælium, intentus ornatusque, densis circa viam ordinibus, adstiterat. Accepti in medium Vitelliani: et circumdatos Primus Antonius clementer adloquitur: ‘pars Narniæ, pars Interamnæ subsistere’ jussi: relictæ simul e victricibus legiones, neque quiescentibus graves, et adversus contumaciam validæ. Non omisere per eos dies Primus ac Varus, crebris nuntiis ‘salutem et pecuniam et secreta Campaniæ’ (*r*) offerre Vitellio, ‘si, positis armis, seque ac liberos suos Vespasiano permisisset.’ In eundem modum et Mucianus composuit epistolas: quibus plerumque fidere Vitellius, ac ‘de numero servorum, electione litorum,’ loqui. Tanta torpedo invaserat animum, ut, si Principem eum fuisse ceteri non meminissent, ipse oblivisceretur.

LXIV. At primores civitatis Flavium Sabinum, Præfectum urbis, secretis sermonibus incitabant, ‘victoriæ famæque partem capesseret: esse illi proprium militem cohortium urbanarum: nec defuturas vigilum cohortes, servitia ipsorum, fortunam partium, et omnia prona victoribus: ne Antonio Varoque de gloria concederet. Paucas Vitellio cohortes, et mæstis undique nuntiis trepidas: populi mobilem animum: et, si se ducem præbuisset, easdem illas adulationes pro Vespasiano fore. Ipsum Vitellium ne prosperis quidem parem: adeo ruentibus debilitatum. Gratiam patrati belli penes eum, qui urbem occupasset. Id Sabino convenire, ut Imperium fratri reservaret; id Vespasiano, ut ceteri post Sabinum haberentur.’

LXV. Haudquaquam erecto animo eas voces accipiebat, invalidus senecta. Erant, qui occultis suspicionibus incesserent, tamquam ‘invidia et æmulatione fortunam fratris moraretur.’ Namque Flavius Sabinus, ætate prior, privatis utriusque rebus, auctoritate pecuniaque Vespasianum anteibat. Et credebatur adfectam ejus fidem præjuvisse, domo agrisque pignori acceptis. Unde, quamquam manente in speciem concordia, offensarum operta metuebantur. Melior interpretatio: ‘mitem virum abhorrere a sanguine et cædibus: eoque crebris cum Vitellio sermonibus de

*q* Id quoque non sine dedecore. Supply *fecerit*.

*r* Campania. See this book, i. s. 23. Note 2.

‘pace, ponendisque per conditionem armis, agitare.’ Sæpe domi congressi, postremo in æde Apollinis, (s) ut fama fuit, pepigere. Verba vocesque duos testes habebant, Cluvium Rufum et Silium Italicum. (t) Vultus procul visentibus notabantur: Vitellii projectus et degener; Sabinus non insultans et miseranti propior.

LXVI. Quod si tam facile suorum mentes flexisset Vitellius, quam ipse cesserat, incruentam urbem Vespasiani exercitus intrasset. Ceterum, ut quisque Vitellio fidus, ita pacem et condiciones abnuebant, ‘discrimen ac dedecus’ ostentantes, ‘et fidem in libidine victoris. Nec tantam ‘Vespasiano superbiam, ut privatum Vitellium pateretur: ‘ne victos quidem laturos. Ita periculum ex misericordia. (u) Ipsum sane senem, et prosperis adversisque satiatum. Sed quod nomen, quem statum filio ejus, Germanico, fore? Nunc pecuniam et familiam et beatos Campaniæ sinus promitti: sed, ubi Imperium Vespasianus invasisset, non ipsi, non amicis ejus, non denique exercitibus securitatem, nisi extincto æmulatu, redituram. Fabium illis Valentem, captivum et casibus dubiis reservatum, ‘prægravem fuisse: nedum Primus ac Fuscus et specimen partium Mucianus, ullam in Vitellium, nisi occidendi, licentiam habeant. Non a Cæsare Pompeium, non ab Augusto Antonium incolumes relictos: nisi forte Vespasianus altiores spiritus gerat, Vitellii cliens, cum Vitellius conlega Claudio foret. (v) Quin, ut censuram patris, ut tres Consulatus, ut tot egregiæ domus honores deceret, desperatione saltem in audaciam accingeretur: perstare mili-

s The temple of Apollo was on mount Palatine, where Augustus formed a library. Horace says, *Scripta Palatinus quæcumque recepit Apollo*.

t That an agreement was made between Vitellius and Flavius Sabinus, the brother of Vespasian, appears in Suetonius, in Vit. s. 15. Cluvius Rufus had been governor of a province in Spain; a man of great eloquence but void of military talents. See Hist. i. s. 8.

u *Periculum ex misericordia*. If Vespasian suffered Vitellius to survive his grandeur and live a private citizen, men would ascribe it to pride and arrogance, and the vanquished would not submit to see their emperor a living reproach to their whole party; and, consequently, Vitellius would be in danger from the commiseration of his friends.

v Vitellius had great weight and influence in the reign of Claudius. Vespasian, at that time, paid his court to the favourite, and also to Narcissus the emperor's freedman. See Suet. in Vesp. s. 4.



‘tem, superesse studia populi. Denique nihil atrocius eventurum, quam in quod sponte ruant: moriendum victis, moriendum deditis: id solum referre, novissimum spiritum per ludibrium et contumelias effundant, an per virtutem.’

LXVII. *Surdæ ad fortia consilia Vitellio aures.* Obruatur animus miseratione curaque, ne, pertinacibus armis, minus placabilem victorem relinqueret conjugi ac liberis. Erat illi et fessa ætate parens; quæ tamen, paucis ante diebus, opportuna morte excidium domus prævenit, nihil Principatu filii adsecuta, nisi luctum et bonam famam. Quintodecimo Kalendas Januarii (w) audita defectione legionis cohortiumque, quæ se Narniæ dediderant, pullo amictu palatio degreditur, mæsta circum familia. (x) Simul ferebatur lecticula parvulus filius, velut in funebrem pompam. Voces populi blandæ et intempestivæ: miles minaci silentio.

LXVIII. Nec quisquam adeo rerum humanarum inmemor, quem non commoveret illa facies: Romanum Principem, et generis humani paullo ante dominum, relictâ fortunæ suæ sede, per populum, per urbem, exire de Imperio. Nihil tale viderant, nihil audierant: repentina vis Dictatorem Cæsarem oppresserat; occultæ Caium insidiæ: nox et ignotum rus fugam Neronis absconderant: Piso et Galba tamquam in acie cecidere: in sua concione Vitellius, inter suos milites, prospectantibus etiam feminis, pauca et præsentî mæstitiæ congruentia locutus: ‘cedere se pacis et Reipublicæ causâ: retinerent tantum memoriam sui fratremque et conjugem et innoxiam liberorum ætatem miserarentur:’ simul filium protendens, modo singulis, modo universis commendans, postremo fletu præpediente, adstanti Consuli (y) (Cæcilius Simplex erat) exsolutum a latere pugionem, velut jus necis vitæque civium, reddebat. Adspernante Consule, reclamantibus, qui in concione ad-

w Vitellius abdicated on the 18th of December, A. U. C. 822, after a few months of anarchy, plunder and massacre.

x Juvenal describes this scene; but, according to him, Sextilia, the mother of Vitellius was one of the melancholy train. Tacitus says she did not live to see the sad catastrophe.

y We have seen that Cæcilius Simplex was impatient to arrive at the consular dignity, insomuch that he was accused in the Senate of a design to purchase it, in the room of Marius Celsus. He did not succeed, but Vitellius afterwards gratified his ambition without a bribe. Hist. ii. s. 60.

stiterant, ut in æde Concordiæ (z) positurus insignia Imperii, domumque fratris petiturus, discessit. Major hic clamor obsistentium Penatibus privatis, 'inpalatium' vocantium. Interclusum aliud iter, idque solum, quod in Sacram viam pergeret, patebat: tum consilii inops, in palatium rediit. Prævenerat rumor, 'ejurari ab eo Imperium:' scripseratque Flavius Sabinus cohortium Tribunis, 'ut militem cohiberent.'

LXIX. Igitur, tamquam omnis Respublica in Vespasiani sinum cessisset, primores Senatus et plerique Equestris ordinis omnisque miles urbanus et vigiles domum Flavii Sabini complevere: illic de studiis vulgi et minis Germanicarum cohortium adfertur. Longius jam progressus erat, quam ut regredi posset: et suo quisque metu, ne disiectos, eoque minus validos, Vitelliani consecrarentur, cunctantem in arma impellebant. Sed, quod in ejusmodi rebus accidit, consilium ab omnibus datum est, periculum pauci sumpsere. Circa lacum Fundani, (a) descendentes, qui Sabinum comitabantur, armatis occurrunt promptissimi Vitellianorum. Modicum ibi prælium, improviso tumultu, sed prosperum Vitellianis fuit. Sabinus, re trepida, quod tutissimum e præsentibus, arcem capitolii insedit milite et quibusdam Senatorum Equitumque: quorum nomina tradere haud promptum est, quoniam, victore Vespasiano, multi id meritum erga partes simulavere. Subierunt obsidium etiam feminæ; inter quas maxime insignis Verulana Gratilla, neque liberos, neque propinquos, sed bellum secuta. Vitellianus miles custodia socordi clausos circumdedit; eoque, concubia nocte, suos liberos Sabinus et Domitianum, fratris filium, in capitolium accivit: misso per neglecta ad Flavianos duces nuntio, qui, 'circumsideri ipsos, et, ni subveniretur, arctas res' nunciret. Noctem adeo quietam egit, ut degredi sine noxa potuerit: quippe miles Vitellii, adversus pericula ferox, laboribus et vigiliis parum intentus erat: et hibernus imber, repente fusus, oculos auresque inpediebat.

z The temple of Concord was burnt to the ground in the fire of the Capitol related hereafter in this book, s. 71. Brotier says it was afterwards rebuilt.

a A Fundane lake, now called, *Lago di Fundi*, is mentioned by Pliny, book iii. s. 5. But the lake now in question was in the city of Rome near the *mons Quirinalis*. Brotier says there were at least a thousand of those lakes at Rome, which ought more properly to be called fountains.

LXX. Luce prima Sabinus, antequam invicem hostilia coeptarent, Cornelium Martialem, e primipilaribus, ad Vitellium misit, cum 'mandatis et questu, quod pacta turbarentur. Simulationem prorsus et imaginem deponendi Imperii fuisse, ad decipiendos tot inlustres viros. Cur enim e rostris fratris domum, inminentem foro, et inritandis hominum oculis, quam Aventinum et Penates uxoris petisset? Ita privato, et omnem Principatus speciem vitanti, convenisse. Contra Vitellium in palatium, in ipsam Imperii arcem regressum: inde armatum agmen emissum: stratum innocentium cædibus celeberrimam urbis partem: ne capitolio quidem abstineri. Togatum nempe se, et unum e Senatoribus, dum inter Vespasianum ac Vitellium præliis legionum, captivitatibus orbium, deditionibus cohortium judicatur, jam, Hispaniis Germaniisque et Britannia desciscentibus, fratrem Vespasiani mansisse in fide, donec ultro ad condiciones vocaretur. Pacem et concordiam victis utilia; victoribus tantum pulchra esse. Si conventionis pœniteat, non se, quem perfidia deceperit, ferro peteret, non filiam Vespasiani, vix puberem: (b) quantum, occicis uno sene et uno juvene, profici? iret obviam legionibus: et de summa rerum illic certaret: cetera secundum eventum prælii cessura.' Trepidus ad hæc Vitellius pauca purgandi sui caussa respondit, culpam 'in militem' conferens, 'cujus nimio ardori inparem esse modestiam suam.' Et monuit Martialem, 'ut per secretam ædium partem occulte abiret, ne a militibus internuntius invisæ pacis interficeretur:' ipse neque jubendi neque vetandi potens, non jam Imperator, sed tantum belli caussa, erat.

LXXI. Vix dum regresso in capitolium Martiale, furens miles aderat, nullo duce; sibi quisque auctor: cito agmine forum et inminentia foro templa (c) prætervecti erigunt aciem per adversum collem, usque ad primas capitulinæ arcis fores. Erant antiquitus porticus in latere clivi, dextræ subeuntibus: in quarum tectum egressi saxi tegulisque Vitellianos obruebant. Neque illis manus, nisi gladiis, armatæ: et arcessere tormenta, aut missilia tela, longum vi-

b Domitian, who was born on the 9th of the Calends of November, or the 24th of October, A. U. C. 814. Suet. in Domit. s. 1.

c The Forum was surrounded by a number of temples, such as the temple of Fortune, of Jupiter Tonans, of Saturn, the temple of Concord and several others.



debat : faces in prominentem porticum jecere : et sequebantur ignem ; ambustasque capitolii fores penetrassent, ni Sabinus revulsas undique statuas, decora majorum, in ipso aditu, vice muri, objecisset. Tum diversos capitolii aditus invadunt, juxta lucum asyli, et qua Tarpeia rupes (*d*) centum gradibus aditur. Inprovisa utraque vis ; propior atque acrior per asylum ingruebat : nec sisti poterant scandentes per conjuncta ædificia : quæ, ut in multa pace, in altum edita, solum capitolii æquabant. Hic ambigitur, ignem tectis oppugnatores injecerint, an obsessi, quæ crebrior fama est, quo nitentes ac progressos depellerent. Inde lapsus ignis in porticus adpositas ædibus : mox sustinentes fastigium Aquilæ (*e*) vetere ligno traxerunt flammam alueruntque. Sic capitolium, clausis foribus, indefensum et indireptum, conflagravit. ~

LXXII. Id facinus post conditam urbem luctuosissimum fœdissimumque Reipublicæ Populi Romani accidit : nullo externo hoste, propitiis, si per mores nostros liceret, Deis, sedem Jovis optimi, maximi, auspicato a majoribus, pignus Imperii, (*f*) conditam, quam non Porsena dedita urbe, neque Galli capta, (*g*) temerare potuissent, furore Principum excindi ! Arserat et ante capitolium civili bello, (*h*) sed fraude privata ; nunc palam obsessum, palam incensum : quibus armorum caussis ? quo tantæ cladis pretio stetit ? pro patria bellavimus ? Voverat Tarquinius Priscus Rex,

*d* The *Lucus Asyli* was so called, because it was made a sanctuary by Romulus to invite a conflux of foreigners to his new state. It was between the two rocks of the Capitoline Hill, on one of which was built the temple of Jupiter Capotilinus, on the other the temple of Feretrian Jove. The Tarpeian rock, with its hundred steps, was on the west side of the Capitoline Hill ; and from that eminence malefactors were thrown headlong into the Tiber.

*e* *Aquilæ*. A set of pillars so called.

*f* When Tarquinius Superbus was laying the foundation of a temple, the men employed in digging the ground, found a human skull ; and this was interpreted to be the pledge of empire, an auspicious omen that Rome would become the mistress of the world.

*g* It is not strictly true that Porsenna became master of the city. He was at the gates, but, instead of advancing, he received hostages and raised the siege. Florus, book i. c. 10. The city was taken by the Gauls, A. U. C. 364.

*h* In the civil war between Sylla and Marius, the Capitol was destroyed by fire, A. U. C. 671, and the Sybylline books perished in the flames. The conflagration was not occasioned by any open act of violence, but rather by the hands of clandestine incendiaries.

bello Sabino, jeceratque fundamenta, spe magis futuræ magnitudinis, quam quo modicæ adhuc Populi Romani res sufficerent: mox Servius Tullius, sociorum studio; deinde Tarquinius Superbus, capta Suessa Pomœtia, hostium spoliis extruxere. Sed gloria operis libertati reservata: pulsis Regibus, Horatius Pulvillus, iterum Consul, dedicavit, ea magnificentia, quam inmensæ postea Populi Romani opes ornarent potius, quam augerent. Iisdem rursus vestigiis situm est, postquam, interjecto ccccxv. annorum spatium, L. Scipione, C. Norbano consulibus flagraverat. Curam victor Sulla suscepit, neque tamen dedicavit: hoc solum felicitati ejus negatum. Lutatii Catuli nomen, inter tanta Cæsarum opera usque ad Vitellium mansit. Ea tunc ædes cremabatur.

LXXIII. Sed plus pavoris obsessis, quam obsessoribus intulit. Quippe Vitellianus miles, neque astu, neque constantia, inter dubia indigebat. Ex diverso trepidi milites, dux segnis et veluti captus animi, non lingua, non auribus competere: neque alienis consiliis regi, neque sua expedire: huc illuc clamoribus hostium circumagi: quæ jusserrat, vetare, quæ vetuerat, jubere. Mox, quod in perditis rebus accidit, omnes præcipere, nemo exsequi: postremo, abjectis armis, fugam et fallendi artes circumspectabant. Inrumpunt Vitelliani et cuncta sanguine, ferro, flammisque miscent. Pauci militarium virorum, inter quos maxime insignes, Cornelius Martialis, Æmilius Pacensis, Casperius Niger, Didius Scæva, pugnam ausi, obtruncantur. Flavius Sabinus, inermem neque fugam cœptantem, circumstant, et Quinctium Atticum, (i) Consulem, umbra honoris et suamet vanitate monstratum, quod edicta in populum, pro Vespasiano magnifica, probrosa adversus Vitellium, jecerat. Ceteri per varios casus elapsi: quidam servili habitu, alii fide clientium contacti, et inter sarcinas abditi. Fuere, qui, excepto Vitellianorum signo, quo inter se noscebantur, ultro rogitantes respondentesve, audaciam pro latebra haberent.

LXXIV. Domitianus, prima inruptione apud ædituum occultatus, sollertia liberti, lineo amictu turbæ sacrificarum inmixtus ignoratusque, apud Cornelium Primum, paternum clientem, juxta Velabrum, delituit. Ac potente rerum pa-

i Quinctius Atticus and Alienus and Cæcina were consuls from the first of November to the end of the year.

tre, disjecto æditui contubernio, modicum sacellum Jovi conservatori, aramque posuit, casusque suos in marmore expressam (j) Mox, Imperium adeptus, Jovi custodi templum ingens, seque in sinu Dei sacravit. Sabinus et Atticus, onerati catenis et ad Vitellium ducti, nequaquam infesto sermone vultuque excipiuntur, frementibus, qui jus cædis, et præmia navatæ operæ, petebant. Clamore a proximis orto, sordida pars plebis supplicium Sabini exposcit, minas adulationesque miscet. Stantem pro gradibus palatii Vitellium, et preces parantem, pervicere, ut absisteret. Tum confossum conlaceratumque, et capite truncum, corpus Sabini in Gemonias trahunt. Hic exitus viri haud sane spernendi.

LXXV. Quinque et triginta stipendia in Republica fecerat, domi militiæque clarus: innocentiam justitiamque ejus non argueres: sermonis nimius erat. Id unum septem annis, quibus Mæsiam, duodecim, quibus Præfecturam urbis obtinuit, calumniatus est rumor. In fine vitæ alii segnem, multi moderatum et civium sanguinis parcum credere. Quod inter omnes constiterit, ante principatum Vespasiani, decus domus penes Sabinum erat. Cædem ejus lætam fuisse Muciano accepimus. Ferebant plerique, 'etiam paci consultum, dirempta æmulatione inter duos, quorum alter se fratrem Imperatoris, alter consortem Imperii cogitaret.' Sed Vitellius Consulis supplicium poscenti populo restitit, placatus, ac velut vicem reddens, quod interrogantibus, 'quis capitolium incendisset,' se reum Atticus obtulerat. Eaque confessione, sive aptum tempori mendacium fuit, invidiam crimenque agnovisse, et a partibus Vitellii amolitus, videbatur.

LXXVI. Isdem diebus L. Vitellius, positus apud Feroniam castris, excidio Tarracinæ imminebat: clausis illic gladiatoribus remigibusque, qui non egredi mœnia, neque periculum in aperto audebant. Præerat, ut supra memoravimus, Julianus gladiatoribus, Apollinaris remigibus: lascivia socordiaque gladiatorum magis, quam Ducum similes, non vigiliis agere, non intuta mœnium firmare, noctu dieque fluxi et amœna litorum personantes, in ministerium luxus dispersis militibus, de bello tantum inter convivia loquebantur. Paucos ante dies discesserat Apinius Tiro: donisque ac pecu-

j *Aramque posuit—expressam.* And erected a marble altar, on which the story of his escape was engraved.



niis acerbe per municipia conquirendis, plus invidiæ quam virium partibus addebat.

LXXVII. Interim ad L. Vitellium servus Verginii Capitonis perfugit, pollicitusque, 'si præsidium acciperet, vacuum arcem tradi futurum,' multa nocte cohortes expeditas, summis montium jugis, super caput hostium sistit: inde miles ad cædem magis, quam ad pugnam decurrit: sternunt inermes, aut arma capientes, et quosdam somno excitos; cum tenebris, pavore, sonitu tubarum, clamore hostili turbarentur. Pauci gladiatorum resistentes, neque inulti cecidere: ceteri ad naves ruebant, ubi cuncta pari formidine implicabantur, permixtis paganis, quos nullo discrimine Vitelliani trucidabant. Sex liburnicæ inter primum tumultum evasere, in quis Præfectus classis Apollinaris: reliquæ in litore captæ, aut nimio ruentium onere pressas mare hausit. Julianus ad L. Vitellium perductus, et verberibus fœdatus, in ore ejus jugulatur. Fuere, qui uxorem L. Vitellii Triariam incesserent, tamquam 'gladio militari cincta, inter lucum cladesque expugnata Tarracinæ, superbe sæveque egisset.' Ipse lauream gestæ prospere rei (*k*) ad fratrem misit: percunctatus, 'statim regredi se, an perdomandæ Campaniæ insistere juberet.' Quod salutare non modo partibus Vespasiani, sed Reipublicæ fuit: nam, si recens victoria miles, et, super insitam pervicaciam, secundis ferox, Romam contendisset; haud parva mole certatum, nec sine exitio urbis, foret: quippe L. Vitellio, quamvis infami, inerat industria: nec virtutibus, ut boni, sed, quo modo pessimus quisque, vitiis valebat.

LXXVIII. Dum hæc in partibus Vitellii geruntur, digressus Narnia Vespasiani exercitus, festos Saturni dies Otriculi (*l*) per otium agitabat. Causa jam pravæ moræ, ut Mucianum opperirentur. Nec defuere, qui Antonium suspicionibus arguerent, tamquam 'dolo cunctantem, post secretas Vitellii epistolas, quibus Consulatum et nobilem filiam et dotales opes, pretium prodicionis, offerebat. Alii, ficta hæc et in gratiam Muciani composita.' Quidam, omnium id Ducum consilium fuisse, ostentare potius urbi bellum, quam inferre: quando validissimæ cohortes a Vi-

*k* Lauream gestæ prospere rei. It was customary to announce a victory to the senate or the emperor in a letter bound with laurel.

*l* Otriculum, a town of Umbria, near the confluence of the Nar and the Tiber: now *Otricoli*, in the duchy of Spoleto.

\* tellio descivissent, et, abscisis omnibus præsidis, cessurus  
 Imperio videbatur. Sed cuncta festinatione, deinde igna-  
 via Sabini, corrupta: qui sumptis temere armis, munitis-  
 simam capitolii arcem, et ne magnis quidem exercitibus  
 expugnabilem, adversus tres cohortes tueri nequivisset.  
 Haud facile quis uni adsignaverit culpam, quæ omnium fuit:  
 nam et Mucianus ambiguis epistolis victores morabatur, et  
 Antonius præpostero obsequio, vel, dum regerit invidiam,  
 (m) crimen meruit: ceterique duces, dum peractum bellum  
 putant, finem ejus insignivere. Ne Petilius quidem Cerialis,  
 cum mille equitibus præmissus, ut transversis itineribus  
 per agrum Sabinum Salaria via (n) urbem introiret, satis ma-  
 turaverat: donec obsessi capitolii fama cunctos simul ex-  
 ciret.

LXXIX. Antonius per Flaminiam ad Saxa rubra, (o)  
 multo jam noctis, serum auxilium venit. Illic 'interfectum  
 Sabinum, conflagrasse capitolium, tremere urbem,' mæsta  
 omnia accepit: 'plebem quoque et servitia pro Vitellio ar-  
 mari,' nuntiabatur. Et Petilio Ceriali equestre prælium  
 adversum fuerat: namque incautum, et tamquam ad victos  
 ruentem, Vitelliani, interjectus equiti pedes, excepere;  
 pugnatum haud procul urbe, inter ædificia hortosque et an-  
 fractus viarum: quæ gnara Vitellianis, incomperta hostibus,  
 metum fecerant: neque omnis eques concors, adjunctis  
 quibusdam, qui nuper apud Narniam dediti, fortunam par-  
 tium speculabantur: capitur Præfectus alæ, Tullius Flavianus:  
 ceteri fœda fuga consternantur, non ultra Fidenas (p)  
 secutis victoribus.

LXXX. Eo successu studia populi aucta: vulgus urba-  
 num arma cepit. Paucis scuta militaria, plures, raptis,  
 quod cuique obvium, telis, 'signum pugnae' exposcunt.  
 Agit grates Vitellius, et 'ad tuendam urbem prorumpere'  
 jubet. Mox, vocato Senatu, deliguntur legati ad exercitus,  
 ut prætexto Reipublicæ concordiam pacemque suaderent.  
 Varia legatorum sors fuit. Qui Petilio Ceriali occurrerant,

m *Vel, dum regerit invidiam.* Or that he might transfer the odium from himself to Mucianus.

n *Via Salaria,* a road leading from the salt-works at Ostia to the country of the Sabines.

o *Saxa Rubra,* a place on the Flaminian road in Etruria, nine miles from Rome.

p *Fidenæ,* a small town in the territory of the Sabines about six miles north of Rome.

extremum discrimem adiere, adspernante milite conditiones pacis: vulneratur Prætor, Arulenus Rusticus: auxit invidiam, super violatum legati Prætorisque nomen, propria dignatio viri: palantur comites: occiditur proximus licitor, (q) dimovere turbam ausus: et, ni dato a duce præsidio defensi forent, sacrum etiam in exterarum gentes legatorum jus. ante ipsa patriæ mœnia, civilis rabies usque in exitium temerasset. Æquioribus animis accepti sunt, qui ad Antonium venerant, non quia modestior miles, sed Duci plus auctoritatis.

LXXXI. Miscuerat se legatis Musonius Rufus, equestris ordinis, studium philosophiæ et placita Stoicorum æmulatus: cœptabatque, permixtus manipulis, 'bona pacis ac 'belli discrimina' disserens, armatos monere. Id plerisque ludibrio, pluribus tædio: nec deerant, qui propellerent proculcarentque, ni, admonitu modestissimi cujusque, et aliis minitantibus, omisisset intempestivam sapientiam. Obviæ fuere et virgines Vestales cum epistolis Vitellii, ad Antonium scriptis: 'eximi supremo certamini unum diem,' postulabat: 'si moram interjecissent, facilius omnia conventionura.' Virgines cum honore dismissæ: Vitellio rescriptum, 'Sabini cæde et incendio capitolii dirempta belli commercia.' (r)

LXXXII. Tentavit tamen Antonius, vocatas ad concionem legiones mitigare, 'ut, castris juxta pontem Milvium (s) positis, postera die urbem ingrederentur.' Ratio cunctandi, ne asperatus prælio miles, non populo, non Senatui, ne templis quidem ac delubris Deorum consulere. Sed omnem prolationem, ut inimicam victoriæ, suspectabant. Simul fulgentia per colles vexilla, quamquam inbellis populus sequeretur, speciem hostilis exercitus fecerant. Tripartito agmine, pars, ut adstiterat, Flaminia via, pars juxta ripam Tiberis incessit; tertium agmen per Salariam Collinæ portæ propinquabat. Plebs invectis equitibus fusa: miles Vitellianus trinis et ipse præsidiis occurrit. Prælia ante urbem multa et varia: sed Flavianis, consilio

q The superior magistrates were preceded by lictors. The one who went last, or next to the magistrate was called *Proximus licitor*.

r The procession of the vestal virgins is mentioned by Suetonius, in Vitel. s. 16. They received for answer, that by the murder of Sabinus, and the fire of the Capitol, all negotiation was inadmissible.

s *Pons Milvius*, a bridge over the Tiber, at the distance of two miles from Rome, on the *Via Flaminia*, now called *Ponte-Molle*.



ducum præstantibus, sæpius prospera. Ii tantum conflictati sunt, qui in partem sinistram urbis, ad Sallustianos hortos, per angusta et lubrica viarum flexerant. Superstantes maceriis hortorum Vitelliani, ad serum usque diem, saxis pilisque subeunt arcebant: donec ab equitibus, qui porta Collina intruperant, circumvenirentur. Concurrere et in campo Martio infestæ acies. Pro Flavianis Fortuna et parata totiens victoria; Vitelliani desperatione sola ruebant: et, quamquam pulsi, rursus in urbe congregabantur.

LXXXIII. Aderat pugnantibus spectator populus, utque in ludicro certamine, hos, rursus illos clamore et plausu fovebat: quotiens pars altera inclinasset, abditos in tabernis, aut, si quam in domum perfugerant, 'erui jugularique' expostulantes, parte majore prædæ potiebantur: nam, milite ad sanguinem et cædes obverso, spolia in vulgus cedebant. Sæva ac deformis urbe tota facies: alibi prælia et vulnera; alibi balineæ popinæque: simul cruor et strues corporum: juxta scorta et scortis similes: quantum in luxurioso otio libidinum; quicquid in acerbissima captivitate scelerum: prorsus ut eandem civitatem et furere crederes et lascivire. Confluxerant ante armati exercitus in urbe, bis L. Sulla, (t) semel Cinna victoribus: nec tunc minus crudelitatis: nunc inhumana securitas, et ne minimo quidem temporis voluptates intermissæ: velut festis diebus id quoque gaudium accederet, exultabant, fruebantur; nulla partium cura, malis publicis læti.

LXXXIV. Plurimum molis in oppugnatione castrorum (u) fuit, quæ acerrimus quisque, ut novissimam spem, retinebant. Eo intentius victores, præcipuo veterum cohortium studio, cuncta validissimarum urbium excidiis reperta simul admovent, testadinem, tormenta, aggeres, facesque: 'quid quid tot præliis laboris ac periculi hausissent, opere illo consummari,' clamitantes. 'Urbem Senatui ac Populo Romani templa Diis reddita: proprium esse militis decus in castris: illam patriam, illos Penates: ni statim recipiantur, noctem in armis agendam.' Contra Vitelliani,

t Speaking of the wars of Cinna and Sylla, Florus says; the last grievous calamity that befel the Romans, was a war waged by parricides within the walls of Rome, in which citizens were engaged against citizens, with the rage of gladiators exhibiting a spectacle in the Forum. Florus, book iii. chap. 21.

u *Castrorum*. The camp of the prætorian guards, a little way out of the city of Rome, first devised by Sejanus in the time of Tiberius.

quamquam numero fatoque dispares, inquietare victoriam, morari pacem, domos arasque cruore fœdare, suprema victis solatia amplectebantur. Multi semianimes, super turre et propugnacula mœnium exspiravere. Convulsis portis, reliquus globus obtulit se victoribus : et cecidere omnes contrariis vulneribus, versi in hostem : ea cura etiam morientibus decori exitus fuit.

LXXXV. Vitellius, capta urbe, per aversam palatii partem, Aventinum, in domum uxoris, sellula defertur : ut, si diem latebra vitavisset, Tarracinam ad cohortes fratremque perfugeret. Dein mobilitate ingenii, et quæ natura pavoris est, cum omnia metuenti præsentia maxime displicerent, in palatium regreditur, vastum desertumque : dilapsis etiam infimis servitiorum, aut occûsum ejus declinantibus. Terret solitudo et tacentes loci : tentat clausa : inhorrescit vacuis ; fessusque misero errore, et pudenda latebra (*v*) semet occultans, ab Julio Placido, Tribuno cohortis, protrahitur. Vincæ pone tergum manus : laniata veste, fœdum spectaculum, ducebatur, multis increpantibus, nullo inlacrimante : deformitas exitus misericordiam abstulerat. Obvius e Germanicis militibus Vitellium infesto ictu, per iram, vel quo maturius ludibriis eximeret, an Tribunum appetierit, in incerto fuit : aurem Tribuni amputavit ac statim confossus est. Vitellium, infestis mucronibus coactum, modo erigere os et offerre contumeliis, nunc cadentes statuas suas, plerumque Rostra, aut Galbæ occisi locum contueri ; postremo ad Gemonias, (*w*) ubi corpus Flavii Sabini jacuerat, propulcre. Vox una non degeneris animi excepta, cum Tribuno insultanti, ‘ se tamen Imperatorem ejus fuisse,’ respondit. Ac deinde ingestis vulneribus concidit. (*x*) Et vulgus eadem pravitate insectabatur interfectum, qua foverat viventem.

LXXXVI. Patria illi Luceria : septimum et quinquagesimum ætatis annum explebat. Consulatum, Sacerdotia, nomen locumque inter primores, nulla sua industria, sed

*v Pudenda latebra.* Suetonius says this was the porter’s lodge : in Vitel. s. 16 and 17.

*w Gemoniæ,* a place at Rome where the bodies of executed criminals were thrown.

*x* Dio relates this incident differently. According to him, a German soldier said, I will give you the best assistance in my power, and thereupon stabbed Vitellius and despatched himself. Dio, book 65.

cuncta patris claritudine adeptus. (y) Principatum ei detulere, qui ipsum non noverant. Studia exercitus, raro cuiquam, bonis artibus quæsitæ, perinde adfuere, quam huic per ignaviam. Inerat tamen simplicitas ac liberalitas: quæ, ni adsit modus, in exitium vertuntur. Amicitias, dum magnitudine munerum, non constantia morum, contineri putat, meruit magis, quam habuit. Reipublicæ haud dubie intererat, Vitellium vinci: sed imputare perfidiam non possunt, qui Vitellium Vespasiano prodidere, cum a Galba descivissent. Præcipiti in occasum die, ob pavorem Magistratum Senatorumque, qui dilapsi ex urbe, aut per domos clientium semet occultabant, vocari Senatus non potuit. Domitianum, postquam nihil hostile metuebatur, ad duces partium progressum et 'Cæsarem' consalutatum, miles frequens, utque erat in armis, in paternos Penates deduxit.

y Vitellius owed much to the illustrious name of his father; but it appears that he advanced himself in the road to honours by the obsequious arts which he practiced under Caligula, Claudius and Nero. See Suet. in Vitel. s. 4.



THE  
HISTORY  
OF  
TACITUS.  
BOOK IV.

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BOOK IV.

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These transactions passed partly during the civil war between Vespasian and Vitellius, in the year of Rome, 822; and partly after the elevation of Vespasian in the

Year of Rome.

823

Of Christ.

70

Consuls.

Flavius Vespasianus, }  
Titus, his son. }



**INTERFECTO** Vitellio, bellum magis desierat, quam pax cœperat. Armati per urbem victores inplacabili odio victos consecrabantur: plenæ cædibus viæ, cruenta fora templaque, passim trucidatis, ut quemque fors obtulerat. Ac mox, augescente licentia, scrutari ac protrahere abditos: si quem procerum habitu et juvena conspexerant, obtruncare, nullo militum aut populi discrimine. (*a*) Quæ sævitia, recentibus odiis, sanguine explebatur, dein verterat in avaritiam: nihil usquam secretum aut clausum sinebant, 'Vitellianos occultari,' simulantes. Initium id perfringendarum domuum; vel, si resisteretur, caussa cædis, nec deerat egentissimus quisque ex plebe: et pessimi servitiorum prodere ultro dites dominos: alii ab amicis monstrabantur. Ubique lamenta, conclamationes et forma captæ urbis: adeo ut Othoniani Vitellianique militis invidiosa antea petulantia desideraretur. Duces partium, accendendo civili bello acres, temperandæ victoriæ in pares: quippe in turbas et discordias (*b*) pessimo cuique plurima vis: pax et quies bonis artibus indigent.

II. Nomen sedemque Cæsaris Domitianus acceperat: nondum ad curas intentus, sed stupris et adulteriis filium Principis agebat. Præfectura Prætorii penes Arrium Varum: summa potentiæ in Primo Antonio: is pecuniam familiamque e Principis domo, quasi Cremonensem prædam, rapere: ceteri modestia vel ignobilitate, ut in bello obscuri, ita præmiorum expertes. Civitas pavida et servitio parata, 'occupari redeuntem Tarracina L. Vitellium cum cohortibus, exstinguique reliqua belli,' postulabat. Præmis-

*a* Si quem procerum—discrimine. Murphy translates this sentence; whoever was grown up to manhood, citizen or soldier, was butchered on the spot.

*b* In turbas et discordias. Concitandas is understood.

si Ariciam (c) equites : aginen legionum intra Bovillas (d) stetit. Nec cunctatus est Vitellius, seque et cohortes arbitrio victoris permittere. Et miles infelicia arma, haud minus ira, quam metu abjecit. Longus deditorum ordo, septus armatis, per urbem incessit : nemo supplici vultu, sed tristes et truces et adversum plausus ac lasciviam insultantis vulgi immobiles : paucos erumpere ausos, circumjecti pressere : ceteri in custodiam conditi. Nihil quisquam locutus indignum, et, quamquam inter adversa, salva virtutis fama. Dein L. Vitellius interficitur, par vitiis fratris, in Principatu ejus vigilantior ; nec perinde prosperis socius, quam adversis abstractus.

III. Iisdem diebus Lucilius Bassus, cum expedito equite, ad componendam Campaniam mittitur : discordibus municipiorum animis, magis inter semet, quam contumacia adversus Principem. Viso milite quies : et minoribus coloniis impunitas. Capuæ legio tertia hiemandi causa locatur, et domus inlustres afflictæ ; cum contra Tarracinenses nulla ope juvarentur. Tanto proclivius est injuriæ, quam beneficio, vicem exsolvere : quia gratia oneri, ultio in quæstu, habetur. Solatio fuit servus Verginii Capitonis, quem proditorem Tarracinensium diximus, patibulo adfixus, in iisdem annulis, quos acceptos a Vitellio gestabat. At Romæ Senatus cuncta Principibus solita Vespasiano decernit, lætus et spei certus : quippe sumpta per Gallias Hispaniasque civilia arma, motis ad bellum Germanis, mox Illyrico, postquam Ægyptum, Judæam Syriamque et omnes provincias exercitusque lustraverant, velut expiato terrarum orbe, cepisse finem videbantur. Addidere alacritatem Vespasiani litteræ, tamquam manente bello scriptæ : ea, prima specie, forma : (e) ceterum ut Princeps loquebatur, civilia de se et Reipublicæ egregia : nec Senatus obsequium deerat. Ipsi ‘ Consulatus cum Tito filio, Prætura Domitiano et Consulare imperium’ decernuntur.

IV. Miserat et Mucianus epistolas ad Senatum, quæ materiam sermonibus præbuere : ‘ si privatus esset, cur pub-

c *Ariciam*. See note to sec. xxxvi. book iii. of this history.

d *Bovillæ*, a town of Latium, near mount Albanus ; about ten miles from Rome, on the Appian way.

e *Ita, prima specie, forma*--viz. of the letters, which appeared to have been written before the termination of the war, and by one who had not obtained the supreme command.

‘lice loqueretur? (*f*) potuisse eadem, paucos post dies, loco sententiæ dici:’ ipsa quoque insectatio in Vitellium sera et sine libertate. (*g*) Id vero erga Rempublicam superbum, erga Principem contumeliosum, quod, ‘in manu sua fuisse Imperium donatumque Vespasiano,’ jactabat. Ceterum invidia in occulto; adulatio in aperto erant: multo cum honore verborum ‘Muciano triumphalia’ de bello civili data: sed ‘in Sarmatas expeditio’ (*h*) fingebatur. Adduntur ‘Primo Antonio Consularia, Cornelio Fusco, et Arrio Varo, Prætoria insignia’ Mox Deos respexere: ‘restitui’ placuit ‘capitolium:’ eaque omnia Valerius Asiaticus, Consul designatus, censuit: ceteri vultu manumque: pauci, quibus conspicua dignitas, aut ingenium adulatione exercitum, compositis orationibus adsentiebantur. Ubi ad Helvidium Priscum, Prætorem designatum, ventum, prompsit sententiam, ut honorificam in bonum Principem, ita falsa aberant, (*i*) et studiis Senatus adtollebatur. Isque præcipuus illi dies, magnæ offensæ initium et magnæ gloriæ fuit.

V. Res postulare videtur, quia iterum (*j*) in mentionem incidimus viri, sæpius memorandi, ut vitam studiaque ejus, et quali fortuna sit usus, paucis repetam. Helvidius Priscus, Tarracinæ municipio, Cluvio patre, qui ordinem primipili duxisset, (*k*) ingenium inlustre altioribus studiis juvenis admodum dedit: non ut plerique, ut nomine magnifico segne otium velaret, sed quo firmior adversus fortuita Rempublicam capesseret: doctores sapientiæ secutus est, qui

*f* Mucianus assumed a character above the rank of a private citizen, when he addressed the consuls and senate. See Cicero ad Familiares, epist. xv.

*g Ipsa quoque—sine libertate.* His invectives against Vitellius came too late, and were no proof of his ardour in the cause of liberty; for Vitellius was dead.

*h In Sarmatas expeditio.* See Hist. iii. 46. Triumphs and triumphal ornaments were never granted for a victory over Roman citizens. For that reason, some advantage which Mucianus had gained over the Sarmatians served as a pretext.

*i Ut honorificam—falsa aberant.* As honourable to a virtuous prince, as it was destitute of false praise.

*j Iterum.* See Hist. ii. 91.

*k Ordinem primipili duxisset.* The centurion of the first century of the first maniple of the *Triarii* was called *Centurio primipulus*. He presided over all the other centurions, and had the charge of the eagle (*aquila*) or chief standard of the legion. He had a place in the council of war with the consul and tribunes. The other centurions were called *minores ordine*.



sola bona, quæ honesta, mala tantum, quæ turpia : potentiam, nobilitatem, ceteraque extra animum, neque bonis, neque malis adnumerant. Quæstoribus adhuc, a Pæto Thræsea gener delectus, e moribus soceri nihil æque ac libertatem hausit : civis, Senator, maritus, gener, amicus, cunctus vitæ officiis æquabilis, opum contemptor, recti pervicax, constans adversus metus.

VI. Erant, quibus adpetentior famæ videretur, quando etiam sapientibus cupido gloriæ novissima exuitur. Ruina soceri in exilium pulsus, ut, Galbæ Principatu, rediit, Marcellum Eprium, delatorem Thræseæ, adcusare adgreditur. Ea ultio, incertum, major an justior, Senatum in studia diduxerat. Nam, si caderet Marcellus, agmen reorum (*l*) sternebatur. Primo minax certamen, et egregiis utriusque orationibus testatum. Mox, dubia voluntate Galbæ, multis Senatorum deprecantibus, omisit Priscus : variis, ut sunt hominum ingenia, sermonibus moderationem laudantium, aut constantiam requirentium. Ceterum, eo Senatus die, quo ‘ de Imperio Vespasiani’ (*m*) censebant, placuerat ‘ mitti ad Principem legatos.’ Hinc inter Helvidium et Eprium acre jurgium. Priscus, ‘ eligi nominatim a Magistratibus juratis,’ Marcellus ‘ urnam’ postulabat : quæ Consulis designati sententia fuerat.

VII. Sed Marcelli studium proprius rubor excitabat, ne, aliis electis, posthabitus crederetur. Paullatimque per altercationem ad continuas et infestas orationes proveci sunt, quærente Helvidio, ‘ quid ita Marcellus iudicium Magistratum pavesceret ? esse illi pecuniam et eloquentiam, quis ‘ multos anteiret, ni memoria flagitiorum urgeretur. Sorte ‘ et urna mores non discerni : suffragia et existimationem ‘ Senatus reperta, ut in cujusque vitam famamque penetrarent : pertinere ad utilitatem Reipublicæ, pertinere ad ‘ Vespasiani honorem, occurrere illi, quos innocentissimos ‘ Senatus habeat, qui honestis sermonibus aures Imperatoris ‘ inbuant. Fuisse Vespasiano amicitiam cum Thræsea, So-

*l* *Agmen reorum.* The band of informers, who, during the reign of Nero, procured the banishment of many virtuous citizens, plainly foresaw their own destruction, in case Marcellus should be condemned.

*m* The decree of the senate, by which the imperial prerogative was vested in the Emperor, is usually called *Lex Regia*. Brotier says, the law passed in favour of Vespasian, is still extant on a table of brass carefully preserved at Rome.

‘raro, Sentio : (*n*) quorum aduersatores, etiamsi puniri non oporteat, ostentari non debere : hoc Senatûs iudicio velut admoneri Principem, quos probet, quos reformidet : nullum majus boni Imperii instrumentum, quam bonos amicos. Esse satis Marcello, quod Neronem in exitium tot innocentium inpulerit. Frueretur præmiis et impunitate ; Vespasianum melioribus relinqueret.’

VIII. Marcellus, ‘non suam sententiam impugnari, sed Consulem designatum censuisse,’ dicebat, ‘secundum vetera exempla, quæ sortem (*o*) legationibus posuissent, ne ambitioni aut inimicitii locus foret. Nihil evenisse, cur antiquitus instituta exolescerent : aut Principis honor in cujusquam contumeliam verteretur : sufficere omnes obsequio : id magis vitandum, ne pervicacia quorundam irritaretur animus, novo Principatu suspensus, et vultus quoque ac sermones omnium circumspectans. Se meminisse temporum, quibus natus sit, quam civitatis formam patres avi que instituerint : ulteriora mirari, præsentia sequi : bonos Imperatores voto expetere, qualescumque tolerare. Non magis sua oratione Thraseam, quam iudicio Senatus, afflictum. Sævitiâ Neronis per huiusmodi imagines inclusisse : nec minus sibi anxiam talem amicitiam, quam aliis exilium. Denique constantia, fortitudine, Catonibus et Brutis æquaretur Helvidius : se unum esse ex illo Senatu, qui simul servierit. Suadere etiam Prisco, ne supra Principem scanderet : ne Vespasianum, senem triumphalem, (*p*) juvenum liberorum patrem, præceptis coerceret. Quomodo pessimis Imperatoribus sine fine dominationem, ita quamvis egregiis modum libertatis, placere.’ Hæc, magnis utrinque contentionibus jactata, diversis studiis accipiebantur. Vicit pars, quæ sortiri legatos malebat, etiam mediis Patrum adnitentibus, retinere morem. Et splendidissimus quisque eodem inclinabat, metu invidiæ, si ipsi eligerentur.

*n* Who Sentius was, does not appear. Brotier thinks there was a mistake in the text, and that the true reading is Seneca, with whom Vespasian was probably connected in friendship.

*o* Ambassadors, and deputies sent on particular occasions, were generally chosen by ballot, as appears in Cicero ad Atticum, Book i, epist. 17.

*p* *Senem triumphalem.* On account of his achievements in Britain, he had obtained the honour of a triumph under the Emperor Claudius.

IX. Secutum aliud certamen. Prætores ærarii (nam tum a Prætoribus tractabatur ærarium) (q) ‘publicam pauperatatem’ questi, ‘modum impensis’ postulaverant. Eam curam Consul designatus, ob magnitudinem oneris et remedii difficultatem, Principi reservabat. Helvidius, ‘arbitrio Senatus agendum,’ censuit. Cum perrogarent sententias Consules, Vulcatius Tertullinus, Tribunus plebis, intercessit, ‘ne quid super tanta re, Principi absente, statueretur.’ Censuerat Helvidius, ‘ut capitolium publice restitueretur, (r) adjuvaret Vespasianus.’ Eam sententiam modestissimus quisque silentio, deinde oblivio transmissit. Fuere, qui et meminissent.

X. Tum invectus est Musonius Rufus in ‘Publium Celerem, a quo Baream Soranum falso testimonio circumventum,’ arguebat. Ea cognitione renovari odia accusationum videbantur: sed vilis et nocens reus protegi non poterat. Quippe Sorani sancta memoria: Celer professus sapientiam, dein testis in Baream, proditor corruptorque amici et cujus se magistrum ferebat. Proximus dies causæ destinatur. Nec tam Musonius aut Publius, quam Priscus et Marcellus ceterique, motis ad ultionem animis, expectabantur.

XI. Tali rerum statu, cum discordia inter patres, ira apud victos, nulla in victoribus auctoritas, non leges, non Princeps in civitate essent, Mucianus, urbem ingressus, cuncta simul in se traxit: fracta Primi Antonii Varique Arrii potentia, male dissimulata in eos Muciani iracundia, quamvis vultu tegetur. Sed civitas, rimandis offensis sagax, verterat se transtuleratque. Ille unus ambiri, coli: nec deerat ipsi: stipatus armatis, domos hortosque permittans, adparatu, incessu, excubiis, vim Principis amplecti, nomen remittere. Plurimum terroris intulit cædes Calpurnii Galeriani. Is fuit filius C. Pisonis, nihil ausus: sed nomen insigne, et decora ipsi juvenia, rumore vulgi celebrabantur: erantque in civitate adhuc turbida, et novis ser-

q *A prætoribus tractabatur ærarium.* See Annals, xiii. 29.

r *Capitolium publice restitueretur.* That the Capitol should be rebuilt under the auspices of the Republic, Vespasian aiding, but not in the capacity of Emperor. Helvedius contended for the independence of the Senate. His enemies took care to store that circumstance in their minds, for a future day. The ruin of this excellent man was the disgrace of Vespasian's reign. See appendix to Hist. i. s. 79. Mur. Tac.



monibus læta, qui Principatus inanem ei famam circumdarent. Jussu Muciani custodia militari cinctus, ne in ipsa urbe conspectior mors foret, ad quadragesimum ab urbe lapidem, via Appia, fuso per venas sanguine, exstinguitur. Julius Priscus, Prætoriarum, sub Vitellio, cohortium Præfectus, se ipse interfecit, pudore magis, quam necessitate. Alphenus Varus ignaviæ infamiæque suæ superfuit. Asiaticus (s) enim (is libertus) malam potentiam servili supplicio expiavit.

XII. Iisdem diebus crebrescentem cladis Germanicæ famam, nequaquam mæsta civitas excipiebat: 'cæsos exercitus, capta legionum hiberna, descivisse Gallias,' non ut mala loquebantur. Id bellum quibus caussis ortum, quanto externarum sociarumque gentium motu flagraverit, altius expediam. Batavi, donec trans Rhenum agebant, pars Cattorum, (t) seditione domestica pulsî, extrema Gallicæ oræ, vacua cultoribus, simulque insulam, nunc Bataviam, occupavere, quam mare Oceanus a fronte, Rhenus amnis tergum ac latera circumluit: nec opibus, societate validiorum, adtriti, (u) viros tantum armaque Imperio ministrant: diu Germanicis bellis exerciti: mox aucta per Britanniam (v) gloria, transmissis illuc cohortibus, quas vetere instituto nobilissimi popularium regebant. Erat et domi delectus eques, præcipuo nandi studio, arma equosque retinens, integris turmis Rhenum perrumpere.

XIII. Julius Paullus et Claudius Civilis, Regia stirpe, multo ceteros anteibant. Paullum Fonteius Capito, falso rebellionis crimine, interfecit. Injectæ Civili catenæ, missusque ad Neronem et a Galba absolutus, sub Vitellio rursus discrimen adiit, flagitante supplicium ejus exercitu. Inde caussæ irarum, spesque ex malis nostris. Sed Civilis, ultra quam barbaris solitum, ingenio sollers, et 'Sertorium' 'se,' aut 'Hannibalem' ferens, simili oris dehonestamento,

\* Asiaticus was the favourite freedman of Vitellius. Hist. ii. s. 57 and 95.

t For the Batavi and the Catti, see the manners of the Germans, s. 29.

u *Nec opibus—atriti.* They did not suffer from their alliance with Rome, although they were far the weaker party. What they escaped frequently happens to nations, which form alliances with others more powerful than themselves.

v The Batavians served in Britain as the allies and auxiliaries of Rome. See Life of Agricola, s. 18 and 36.

(*w*) ne ut hosti obviam iretur, si a Populo Romano palam descivisset, Vespasiani amicitiam studiumque partium præ-tendit: missis sane ad eum Primi Antonii litteris, quibus, ‘avertere accita Vitellio auxilia et, tumultus Germanici specie, retentare legiones,’ jubebatur. Eadem Hordeonius Flaccus præsens monuerat, inclinato in Vespasianum animo, et Reipublicæ cura; cui excidium adventabat, si redintegratum bellum et tot armatorum millia Italiam in-rupissent.

XIV. Igitur Civilis, desciscendi certus, occultato inter-im altiore consilio, cetera ex eventu judicaturus, novare res hoc modo cœpit. Jussu Vitellii, Batavorum juvenus ad delectum vocabatur; quem, suapte natura gravem, onerabant ministri avaritia ac luxu, senes aut invalidos conqui-rendo, quos pretio dimitterent: rursus inpubes, sed forma conspicui (et est plerisque procera pueritia) ad stuprum trahebantur. Hinc invidia: et compositæ seditionis (*x*) auctores perpulere, ut delectum abnuerent. Civilis pri-mores gentis et promptissimos vulgi, specie epularum, (*y*) sacrum in nemus vocatos, ubi nocte ac lætitia incaluisse vi-det, a laude gloriaque gentis orsus, injurias et raptus et ce-tera servitii mala enumerat. ‘Neque enim societatem, ut olim, sed tamquam mancipia haberi: quando (*z*) Legatum, ‘gravi quidem comitatu et superbo cum imperio venire? ‘tradi se Præfectis Centurionibusque: quos ubi spoliis et ‘sanguine expleverint, mutari, exquirique novos sinus et ‘varia prædandi vocabula. Instare delectum, quo liberi a ‘parentibus, fratres a fratribus, velut supremum dividantur. ‘Nunquam magis adflictam rem Romanam, nec aliud in hi-bernis, quam prædam et senes: adtollerent tantum oculos ‘et inania legionum nomina ne pavescerent: at sibi robur

*w Oris dehonestamento.* It was the misfortune of many of the celebrated ancient generals to lose the use of one of their eyes. Plutarch says that this was the case with Philip, Antigonus, Hannibal and Sertorius.

*x Compositæ seditionis, i. e.* secretly organized. This is the reading of Ernestus. It is commonly written *compositi*.

*y* The barbarians consulted about the operations of war at their carousing festivals, and frequently in their sacred groves. See the manners of the Germans, s. 9, and 22. Brotier thinks that the wood where Civilis held his convention, was between the Rhine and the Mosa (the *Meuse*) at a place now called *Dooden-Werd*.

*z Quando, etc.* Ernestus supposes that *quippe* should be substituted for *quando*, and the interrogation omitted after *venire*.

‘peditum equitumque: consanguineos Germanos: Gallias  
 ‘idem cupientes: ne Romanis quidem ingratum id bellum,  
 ‘cujus ambiguum fortunam Vespasiano inputaturos: (a)  
 ‘victoriæ rationem non reddi.’

XV. Magno cum adsensu auditus, barbaro ritu et patriis  
 execrationibus universos adigit. Missi ad Canninefates,  
 qui consilia sociarent. Ea gens partem insulæ colit, ori-  
 gine, lingua, virtute, par Batavis; numero superantur.  
 Mox occultis nuntiis perlexit Britannica auxilia, (b) Batavo-  
 rum cohortes, missas in Germaniam, ut supra retulimus,  
 ac tum Magontiaci agentes. Erat in Canninefatibus (c) sto-  
 lidæ audaciæ Brinnō, claritate natalium insigni: pater ejus,  
 multa hostilia ausus, Caianarum expeditionum ludibrium (d)  
 inpune spreverat. Igitur ipso rebellis familiæ nomine pla-  
 cuit, inpositusque scuto, more gentis, et sustinentium hume-  
 ris vibratus. Dux deligitur. Statimque accitis Frisiis  
 (transrhenana gens est) duarum cohortium hiberna, proxima  
 occupatu, Oceano inrumpit. Nec præviderant impetum  
 hostium milites: nec, si prævidissent, satis virium ad ar-  
 cendum erat. Capta igitur et direpta castra: dein vagos,  
 et pacis modo effusos, lixas negotiatoresque Romanos inva-  
 dunt. Simul excidiis castellorum imminebant: quæ a Præ-  
 fectis cohortium incensa sunt, quia defendi nequibant. Sig-  
 na vexillaque et quod militum in superiorem insulæ partem  
 congregantur, duce Aquilio, Primipilari; nomen magis  
 exercitus, quam robur. Quippe, viribus cohortium abduc-  
 tis, Vitellius, e proximis Nerviorum Germanorumque pagis,  
 segnem numerum armis oneraverat.

XVI. Civilis, dolo grassandum ratus, incusavit ultro  
 Præfectos, ‘quod castella deseruissent. Se cum cohorte,  
 ‘cui præreat, Canninefatem tumultum compressurum: ille  
 ‘sua quisque hiberna repeterent.’ Subesse fraudem con-  
 silio, et dispersas cohortes facilius opprimi, nec Brinnonem  
 ducem ejus belli, sed Civilem esse, patuit: erumpentibus

a The Batavians in case of failure could attribute their insurrec-  
 tion to their zeal for Vespasian.

b *Britannica auxilia*. He thus denominates the Batavian cohorts,  
 because they had been in Britain with the fourteenth legion

c The Canninefates occupied the western part of Batavia near the  
*Hague*. Magontiacum was a town of Gaul; now *Ments*, situated at  
 the confluence of the Rhine and the Maine.

d *Caianarum expeditionum ludibrium*; Caligula's wild expedi-  
 tion into Germany, A. U. C. 793. See Suetonius in Calig. 43.



paullatim indiciis, quæ Germani, læta bello gens, non diu occultaverant. Ubi insidiæ parum cessere, ad vim transgressus, Canninefates, Frisios, (e) Batavos propriis cuneis componit: directa ex diverso acies, haud procul a flumine Rheno, et obversis in hostem navibus, quas, incensis castellis, illuc adpulerant: nec diu certato, Tungrorum cohors signa ad Civilem transtulit: percussique milites improvisa proditione a sociis hostibusque cædebantur. Eadem etiam navibus perfidia. Pars remigum e Batavis, tamquam imperitia officia nautarum propugnatorumque impediabant: mox contra tendere, et puppes hostili ripæ objicere: ad postremum gubernatores Centurionesque, nisi eadem volentis, trucidant, donec universa quatuor et viginti navium classis transfugeret, aut caperetur.

XVII. Clara ea victoria in præsens, in posterum usui: armaque et naves, quibus indigebant, adepti, magna per Germanias Galliasque fama, 'libertatis auctores' celebrabantur. Germaniæ statim misere legatos, auxilia offerentes. Galliarum societatem Civilis arte donisque adfectabat, captos cohortium Præfectos suas in civitates remittendo: cohortibus, abire, an manere mallent, data potestate: manentibus honorata militia: digredientibus spolia Romanorum offerebantur. Simul secretis sermonibus admonebat 'malorum, quæ tot annis perpessi, miseram servitutem falso 'pacem vocarent. Batavos, quamquam tributorum expectes, arma contra communes dominos cepisse: prima acie 'fusum victumque Romanum: quid? si Galliæ jugum 'exuant? quantum in Italia reliquum? provinciarum sanguine provincias vinci: ne Vindicis aciem cogitarent. (f) 'Batavo equite protritos Æduos Avernosque: fuisse inter 'Verginii auxilia Belgas: vereque reputantibus, Galliam 'suismet viribus concidisse. Nunc easdem omnium partes, 'addito, si quid militaris disciplinæ in castris Romanorum 'viguerit: esse secum veteranas cohortes, quibus nuper 'Othonis legiones procubuerint. Servirent Syria Asiaque 'et suetus Regibus Oriens: multos adhuc in Gallia vivere, 'ante tributa genitos. (g) Nuper certe, cæso Quinctilio Varo,

e The Frisii were a people of Germany inhabiting a territory near the Rhine; now the *Frisons*.

f For an account of the defeat of Vindex at Vesontium in Gaul, see the appendix to annals xvi. s. 12. Mur. Tac.

g *Ante tributa genitos*. Born before tributes were imposed upon

‘pulsam e Germania servitutem. Nec Vitellium Principem, sed Cæsarem Augustum bello provocatum. Libertatem natura, etiam mutis animalibus, datam. Virtutem proprium hominum bonum. Deos fortioribus adesse. Proinde adriperent vacui occupatos, integri fessos: dum alii Vespasianum, alii Vitellium, foveant, patere locum adversus utrumque.’

XVIII. Sic in Gallias Germaniasque intentus, si destinata provenissent, validissimarum ditissimarumque nationum Regno iminebat. At Flaccus Hordeonius primos Civilis conatus per dissimulationem aluit. Ubi ‘expugnata castra, deletas cohortes, pulsum Batavorum insula Romanum nomen,’ trepidi nuntii adferebant, Mummium Lupercum, Legatum, (is duarum legionum hibernis præerat) ‘egredi adversus hostem’ jubet. Lupercus legionarios e præsentibus, Ubios e proximis, Treverorum equites, haud longe agentes, raptim transmisit, addita Batavorum ala, quæ jam pridem corrupta, fidem simulabat, ut, proditis in ipsa acie Romanis, majore pretio fugeret. Civilis, captarum cohortium signis circumdatus, ut suo militi recens gloria ante oculos, et hostes memoria cladis terrerentur, matrem suam sororesque, simul omnium conjuges parvosque liberos, consistere a tergo jubet: hortamenta victoriæ, vel pulsus pudorem. Ut virorum cantu, feminarum ululatu, sonuit acies, nequaquam par a legionibus cohortibusque redditur clamor. Nudaverat sinistrum cornu Batavorum ala transfugiens, statimque in nos versa: sed legionarius miles, quamquam rebus trepidis, arma ordinesque retinebat. Ubiorum Treverorumque auxilia, fœda fuga dispersa, totis campis palantur. Illuc incubuere Germani. Et fuit interim effugium legionibus in castra, quibus ‘Veterum’ (*h*) nomen est. Præfectus alæ Batavorum, Claudius Labeo, oppidano certamine æmulus Civili, ne interfectus invidiam apud populares, vel, si retineretur, semina discordiæ præberet, in Frisios avehitur.

XIX. Iisdem diebus, Batavorum et Canninefatium cohortes, cum jussu Vitellii in urbem pergerent, missus a

them by the Romans; which happened for the first time A. U. C. 769.

*h Veterum.* *Vetera castra*, the old camp which was a fortified station for the legions: now *Santen*, in the duchy of Cleves. not far from the Rhine.

Civile nuntius adsequitur. Intumescere statim superbia ferociaque, et 'pretium itineris, donativum, duplex stipendium, augeri equitum numerum,' promissa sane a Vitellio, postulabant, non, ut adsequerentur, sed causam seditioni. Et Flaccus, multa concedendo, nihil aliud effecerat, quam ut acrius exposcerent, quæ sciebant negaturum. Spreto Flacco, inferiorem Germaniam petivere, ut Civili jungerentur. Hordeonius, adhibitis Tribunis Centurionibusque, consultavit, 'num obsequium abnuentes vi coerceret.' Mox, insita ignavia et trepidis ministris, quos ambiguus auxiliorum animus et subito delectu suppletæ legiones augebant, statuit, continere intra castra militem. Dein poenitentia, et arguentibus ipsis, qui suaserant, tamquam secuturus, scripsit Herennio Gallo, legionis primæ Legato, qui Bonnam (i) obtinebat, ut 'arceret transitu Batavos: 'se cum exercitu tergis eorum hæsurum.' Et opprimi poterant, si hinc Hordeonius, inde Gallus, motis utrimque copiis, medios clausissent. Flaccus omisit inceptum, aliisque litteris Gallum monuit, ne terreret abeuntes. Unde suspicio, sponte Legatorum excitari bellum: cunctaque, quæ acciderant aut metuebantur, non inertia militis, neque hostium vi, sed fraude ducum evenire.

XX. Batavi, cum castris Bonnensibus propinquarent, præmisere, qui Herennio Gallo mandata cohortium exponeret: 'nullum sibi bellum adversus Romanos, pro quibus 'totiens bellassent. Longa atque inrita militia fessis patriæ 'atque otii cupidinem esse. Si nemo obsisteret, innoxium 'iter fore; sin arma occurrant, ferro viam inventuros.' Cunctantem Legatum milites perpulerant, 'fortunam prælii experiretur.' Tria millia legionariorum et tumultuariæ Belgarum cohortes, simul paganorum lixarumque ignava, sed procax ante periculum, manus, omnibus portis erumpunt, ut Batavos numero inpares circumfundant. Illi, veteres militiæ, (j) in cuneos congregantur, densi undique et frontem tergaque ac latus tuti. Sic tenuem aciem, nostrorum perfringunt. Cedentibus Belgis, pellitur legio, et vallum portasque trepidi petebant. Ibi plurimum cladis: cumulatae corporibus fossæ: nec cæde tantum et vulneribus, sed ruina et suis plerique telis interiire. Victores,

i Bonna, now Bonn in the electorate of Cologne.

j Veteres militiæ Familiar with, or skillful in war. *Vetus* is frequently used with this meaning. *Vetus operis ac laboris. Scientiæ ceremoniarumque vetus. Vetus regnandi.*



colonia Agrippinensium vitata, nihil cetero in itinere hostile ausi, Bonnense prœlium excusabant; tamquam petita pace, postquam negabatur, sibimetipsi consulissent.

XXI. Civilis, adventu veteranarum cohortium, justus jam exercitus ductor, sed consilii ambiguus et vim Romanam reputans, cunctos, qui aderant, in verba Vespasiani adigit: mittitque legatos ad duas legiones, quæ, priore acie pulsæ, in Vetera castra concesserant, 'ut idem sacramentum acciperent.' Redditur responsum, 'neque proditoris, neque hostium se consiliis uti. Esse sibi Vitellium Principem, pro quo fidem et arma usque ad supremum spiritum retenturos: proinde perfuga Batavus abitrum rerum Romanarum ne ageret, sed meritas, sceleris pœnas expectaret.' Quæ ubi relata Civili, incensus ira, universam Batavorum gentem in arma rapit. Junguntur Bructeri Tencterique (*k*) et excita nuntiis Germania ad prædam famamque.

XXII. Adversus has belli concurrentis minas Legati legionum, Mummius Lupercus et Numisius Rufus, vallum murosque firmabant. Subversa longæ pacis opera, (*l*) haud procul castris, in modum municipii exstructa, ne hostibus usui forent. Sed parum provisum, ut copiæ in castra conveherentur: rapi permisere. Ita paucis diebus per licentiam absumpta sunt, quæ adversus necessitates in longum suffecissent. Civilis, medium agmen cum robore Batavorum obtinens, utramque Rheni ripam, quo truculentior visu foret, Germanorum catervis complet, adsultante per campos equite. Simul naves in adversum amnem agebantur. Hinc veteranarum cohortium signa, inde depromptæ silvis lucisve ferarum imagines, ut cuique genti inire prœlium mos est, mixta belli civilis externique facie (*m*) obstupescerant obsessos: et spem oppugnantium augebat amplitudo valli, quod, duabus legionibus situm, vix quinque millia ar-

*k* The Bructerians were a people of Germany situate in Westphalia. The Tencteri were also a people of Germany, See the manners of the Germans, s. 32.

*l* *Longæ pacis opera.* These were buildings constructed for the servants, sutlers and those who followed the army. As they might favour the approach of the enemy they were destroyed.

*m* *Mixta belli civilis externique facie.* For the Batavian cohorts had military standards after the manner of the Romans: but the other armies carried the heads and images of wild beasts for standards.

matorum (*n*) tuebantur. Sed lixarum multitudo, turbata pace illuc congregata, et bello ministra aderat.

XXIII. Pars castrorum, in collem leniter exsurgens; pars æquo adibatur: quippe, illis hibernis obsideri premique Germanias, Augustus crediderat: neque unquam id malorum, ut oppugnatum ultro legiones nostras venirent. Inde non loco, neque munimentis labor additus: vis et arma satis placebant. Batavi Transrhenanique, quò discreta virtus manifestius spectaretur, sibi quæque gens consistunt, eminus lacescentes. Post, ubi pleraque telorum turribus pinnisque mœnium inrita hærebant, (*o*) et desuper saxis vulnerabantur, clamore atque impetu invasere vallum, adpositis plerique scalis, alii per testudinem suorum: (*p*) scandebantque jam quidam, cum, gladiis et armorum incussu præcipitati, sudibus et pilis obruuntur, præferoces initio et rebus secundis nimii. Sed tum prædæ cupidine adversa quoque tolerabant. Machinas etiam, insolitum sibi, ausi: nec nulla ipsis solertia: perfugæ captivique docebant struere materias in modum pontis; mox subjectis rotis propellere: ut alii superstantes, tamquam ex aggere, præliarentur; pars intus occulti muros subruerent. Sed excussa balistis saxa stravere informe opus: et crates vineasque parantibus adactæ tormentis ardentes hastæ: ultroque ipsi oppugnatores ignibus petebantur; donec, desperata vi, verterent consilium ad moras, haud ignari paucorum dierum inesse alimenta et multum inbellis turbæ. Simul ex inopia proditio et fluxa servitiorum fides ac fortuita belli sperabantur.

XXIV. Flaccus interim, cognito castrorum obsidio, et missis per Gallias, qui auxilia concirent, lectos e legionibus Dillio Vocolæ, duodevicesimæ legionis Legato, tradit, ut quam maximis per ripam itineribus celeraret. Ipse pavidus, invalidus corpore, invisus militibus: neque enim ambigue fremebant, 'emissas a Magontiaci Batavorum cohortes, dissimulatos Civilis conatus, adsciri in societatem Germanos: non Primi Antonii, neque Muciani, ope Vespasianum magis adolevisse: aperta odia armaque palam depelli: fraudem et dolum obscura, eoque inevitabilia.

*n Armatorum.* This word is used to distinguish the soldiers from those who followed the camp as servants, &c.

*o Hærebant.* Regius and Ryckianus prefer *pendebant*.

*p Per testudinem suorum.* See Hist. iii. 27.

‘Civilem stare contra, struere aciem: Hordeonium e  
 ‘cubiculo et lectulo jubere, quidquid hosti conducat. Tot  
 ‘armatas fortissimorum virorum manus unius senis valetu-  
 ‘dine regi. Quin potius, interfecto traditore, fortunam  
 ‘virtutemque suam malo omine exsolverent.’ His inter  
 se vocibus instinctos flammavere insuper adlatæ a Vespasiano litteræ, quas Flaccus, quia occultari nequibant, pro concione recitavit: vinctosque, qui adtulerant, ad Vitellium missit.

XXV. Sic mitigatis animis, Bonnam hiberna primæ legionis, ventum. Infensor illic miles, culpam cladis in Hordeonium vertebat: ‘ejus jussu directam adversus, Batavos aciem, tamquam a Magontiaco legiones sequerentur: ejusdem proditione cæsos, nullis supervenientibus auxiliis. Ignota hæc ceteris exercitibus, neque Imperatori suo nuntiari: cum adcurso tot provinciarum exstingui repens perfidia potuerit.’ Hordeonius exemplaria omnium litterarum, quibus per Gallias Britanniamque et Hispanias auxilia orabat, exercitui recitavit; instituitque pessimum facinus, ut epistolæ Aquiliferis legionum traderentur; a quis ante militi, quam Ducibus, legebantur. Tum e seditiosis unum vinciri jubet, magis usurpandi juris, (*q*) quam quia unius culpa foret. Motusque Bonna exercitus in coloniam Agrippinensem; adfluentibus auxiliis Gallorum, qui primo rem Romanam enixe juvabant: mox, valescentibus Germanis, pleræque civitates adversum nos armatæ spe libertatis; et, si exuissent servitium, cupidine imperitandi. Gliscebant iracundia legionum, nec terrorem unius militis vincula indiderant: quin idem ille arguebat ultro ‘conscientiam Ducis: tamquam nuntius inter ‘Civilem Flaccumque falso crimine testis veri opprimere-  
 ‘tur.’ Conscendit tribunal Vocula mira constantia, prehensumque militem ac vociferantem ‘duci ad supplicium’ jussit. Et, dum mali pavent, optimus quisque jussis parere. Exin consensu ‘Ducem Voculam’ poscentibus, Flaccus summam rerum ei permisit.

XXVI. Sed discordes animos multa efferebant: inopia stipendii frumentique: et simul delectum tributaque Galliæ adspernantes: Rhenus incognita illi cælo siccitate vix navium patiens; arti commæatus: dispositæ per omnem ripam stationes, quæ Germanos vado arcerent: eademque



de caussa minus frugum, et plures, qui consumerent. Apud inperitos prodigii loco accipiebatur ipsa aquarum penuria, tamquam nos amnes quoque et vetera Imperii munimenta desererent: quod in pace 'fors,' seu 'natura,' tunc 'fatum' et 'ira Dei,' (*r*) vocabatur. Ingressis Novesium (*s*) tertiadecima legio conjungitur. Additus Vocolæ in partem curarum Herennius Gallus, Legatus: nec ausi ad hostem pergere, loco, cui Gelduba nomen est, castra fecere. Ibi struenda acie, muniendo vallandoque et ceteris belli meditentis militem firmabant. Utque præda ad virtutem accenderetur, in proximos Gugernorum (*t*) pagos, qui societatem Civilis acceperant, ductus a Vocola exercitus. Pars cum Herennio Gallo permansit.

XXVII. Forte navem haud procul castris, frumento gravem, cum per vada hæsisset, Germani in suam ripam trahebant. Non tulit Gallus, misitque subsidio cohortem. Auctus et Germanorum numerus, paullatimque adgregantibus se auxiliis, acie certatum. Germani multa cum strage nostrorum navem abripiunt. Victi (quod tum in morem verterat) non suam ignaviam, sed perfidiam Legati culpabant. Protractum e tentorio, scissa veste, verberato corpore, 'quo pretio, quibus consciis, prodidisset exercitum,' dicere jubent. Redit in Hordeonium invidia. Illum 'auctorem sceleris,' hunc 'ministrium' vocant; donec, exitium minitantibus exterritus, proditionem et ipse Hordeonio objecit: vinctusque, adventu demum Vocolæ exsolvitur. Is postera die auctores seditionis morte adfecit. Tanta illi exercitui diversitas inerat licentiæ patientiæque. Haud dubie gregarius miles Vitellio fidus: splendidissimus quisque in Vespasianum proni: inde scelorum ac supplicio-

*r* The observation which Tacitus has compressed into a maxim, is explained more fully by Cicero, *de Divinatione*, book ii. s. 27. Having mentioned a number of prodigies, he says; The same occurrences which would pass unnoticed in time of peace, happening in time of war occasion great alarm: for men, under the influence of fear or danger, are frequently more credulous than usual, and consequently more easily deceived. This may account for the portents and prodigies which so often occur in the Roman historians, who are sometimes accused of superstition, when they are giving a true picture of the public mind. See Hist. i. s. 86.

*s* Novesium, a town in Belgic Gaul; now *Nuys*.

*t* The *Gugerni* were a people originally from Germany, inhabiting part of the duchy of Cleves and Gueldre, between the Rhine and the Meuse.

rum vices, et mixtus obsequio furor: ut contineri non possent, qui puniri poterant.

XXVIII. At Civilem immensis auctibus universa Germania extollebat, societate nobilissimis obsidum firmata. Ille, ut cuique proximum, 'vastari Ubios Treverosque, et aliam manum Mosam annem transire,' jubet, 'ut Menapios et Morinos et extrema Galliarum quateret.' Actæ utrobique prædæ; infestius in Ubiis, quod gens Germanicæ originis, ejurata patria, Romanorum nomen, 'Agrippinenses,' vocarentur. (*u*) Cæsæ cohortes eorum, in vico Marcoduro, incuriosius agentes, quia procul ripa aberant. Nec quievire Ubii, quominus prædas e Germania peterent: primo inpune, dein circumventi sunt; per omne id bellum meliori usi fide, quam fortuna. Contusis Ubiis, gravior et successu rerum ferocior Civilis, obsidium legionum urgebat: intentis custodiis, ne quis occultus nuntius venientis auxilii penetraret. Machinas molemque operum Batavis delegat: Transrhenanos, 'prælium' poscentis, 'ad scindendum vallum ire, detrusosque redintegrare certamen,' jubet; superante multitudine et facili damno: nec finem labori nox adtulit.

XXIX. Congestis circum lignis accensisque, simul epulantes, ut quisque vindictæ incaluerat, ad pugnam temeritate inani ferebantur. Quippe ipsorum tela per tenebras vana: Romani conspicuam Barbarorum aciem, et, si quis audacia aut insignibus effulgens, ad ictum destinabant. Intellectum id Civili: et, 'restituto igne, misceri cuncta tenebris et armis,' jubet. Tum vero strepitus dissoni, casus incerti, neque ferendi, neque declinandi providentia. Unde clamor acciderat, circumagere corpora, tendere arcus: nihil prodesse virtus, fors cuncta turbare et ignavorum sæpe telis fortissimi cadere. Apud Germanos inconsulta ira: Romanus miles, periculorum gnarus, ferratas sudes, gravia saxa, non forte jaciebat. Ubi sonus molientium, aut adpositæ scalæ hostem in manus dederant, propellere umbone,

*u* The Ubii were a people from Germany, but transplanted by Augustus to the west side of the Rhine, under the conduct of Agrippa. Their capital was then for a long time called *Oppidum Ubiorum*, and, at last, changed by the Empress Agrippina to *Colonia Agrippinensis*; now Cologne.

*Menapii*, a people who inhabited that part of Belgia, now called Brabant and Flanders.

pilo sequi : multos, in mœnia egressus, pugionibus fodere. Sic exhausta nocta, novam aciem dies aperuit.

XXX. Eduxerant Batavi turrim, duplici tabulato, quam, Prætoriae portæ (v) (is æquissimus locus) propinquantem, promoti contra validi asseres et incussæ trabes perfregere, multa superstantium pernicie. Pugnatumque in perculos subita et prospera eruptione. Simul a legionariis, peritia et arte præstantibus, plura struebantur. Præcipuum pavorem intulit suspensum et nutans machinamentum, (w) quo repente demisso, præter suorum ora singuli pluresve hostium sublime rapti, verso pondere intra castra effundebantur. Civilis, omissa oppugnandi spe, rursus per otium adsidebat, nuntiis et promissis fidem legionum convellens.

XXXI. Hæc in Germania ante Cremonense prælium gesta, cujus eventum litteræ Primi Antonii docuere, addito Cæcinæ edicto. (x) Et Præfectus cohortis e victis, Alpinus Montanus, fortunam partium præsens fatebatur. Diversi hinc motus animorum. Auxilia e Gallia, quis nec amor, nec odium in partes, militia sine adfectu, hortantibus Præfectis, statim a Vitellio desciscunt : vetus miles cunctabatur. Sed adigente Hordeonio Flacco, instantibus Tribunis, dixit sacramentum, non vultu, neque animo, satis adfirmans : et, cum cetera jurisjurandi verba conciperent, ‘Vespasiani’ nomen hæsitantes, aut levi murmure et plerumque silentio, transmittabant.

XXXII. Lectæ deinde pro concione epistolæ Antonii ad Civilem, suspensiones militum inritavere, tamquam ad socium partium scriptæ, et de Germanico exercitu hostiliter. Mox adlatis Geldubam in castra nuntiis, eadem dicta fataque : et missus cum mandatis Montanus ad Civilem, ‘ut absisteret bello : neve externa armis falsis velaret. Si Vespasianum juvare adgressus foret, satisfactum cœptis.’ Ad ea Civilis primo callide : post, ubi videt Montanum præferocem ingenio, paratumque in res novas, orsus a questu pe-

v. *Prætoriae portæ.* The form of the Roman camp was a square. It had four gates; one on each side. The one nearest the enemy was called *Portæ Prætoriae*, the one opposite this, *Decumanæ*. The other two were called *Porta principalis dextra* and *principalis sinistra*.

w This extraordinary engine was invented by Archimedes, the celebrated geometrician, during the siege of Syracuse, which was conducted by Marcellus. See Polybius, book viii.

x *Addito Cæcinæ edicto.* Because he was consul.



riculisque, quæ per quinque et viginti annos in castris Romanis exhausisset, ‘Egregium,’ inquit, ‘pretium laboris recepi, necem fratris (*y*) et vincula mea et sævissimas hujus exercitus voces, quibus ad supplicium petitus, jure gentium pœnas reposco: vos autem Treveri, cæteræque servientium animæ, quod præmium effusi totiens sanguinis exspectatis, nisi ingratam militiam, immortalia tributa, virgas, secures et dominorum ingenia? En ego Præfectus unius cohortis et Canninefates Batavique, (*z*) exigua Galliarum portio, vana illa castrorum spatia excidimus, vel septa ferro fameque premimus: denique ausos aut libertas sequetur, aut victi iidem erimus.’ Sic accensum, sed ‘molliora referre’ jussum, dimittit. Ille, ut inritus legationis, rediit, cetera dissimulans, quæ mox erupere.

XXXIII. Civilis, parte copiarum retenta, veteranas cohortes, et quod e Germanis maxime promptum, adversus Voculam exercitumque ejus mittit: Julio Maximo et Claudio Victore, sororis suæ filio, ducibus. Rapiunt in transitu hiberna alæ, Asciburgii (*a*) sita: adeoque improvisi castra involavere, ut non adloqui, non pandere aciam Vocula potuerit. Id solum, ut in tumultu, monuit, ‘subsignano mihi lite media firmare:’ auxilia passim circumfusa sunt. Eques prorupit, exceptusque compositis hostium ordinibus, terga in suos vertit. Cædes inde, non prælium. Et Nerviorum cohortes, metu seu perfidia, latera nostrorum nudavere. Sic ad legiones perventum: quæ, amissis signis, intra vallum sternebantur; cum repente novo auxilio fortuna pugnae mutatur. Vasconum (*b*) lectæ a Galba cohortes ac tum accitæ, dum castris propinquant, audito præliantium clamore, intentos hostes a tergo invadunt, latioremq, quam pro numero, terrorem faciunt: aliis a Novesio, aliis a Magontiaco, universas copias advenisse credentibus. Is error Romanis addit animos, et, dum alienis viribus confidunt, suas recepere. Fortissimus quisque e Batavis, quantum peditum erat, funduntur: eques evasit cum signis capitivisque, quos prima acie conripuerant. Cæsorum eo die,

*y Necem fratris.* See this book, s. 13.

*z Exigua Galliarum portio.* The Canninefates and the Batavians, were originally Germans, but emigrated into Gaul.

*a Asciburgium,* a citadel on the Rhine, where the Romans stationed a garrison.

*b* The Vascones inhabited the country of *Navarre*.

in partibus nostris, major numerus et inbellior; e Germanis ipsa robora.

XXXIV. Dux uterque, pari culpa meritis adversa, prosperis defuere. Nam Civilis, si majoribus copiis instruxisset aciem, circumiri a tam paucis cohortibus nequisset, castraque perrupta excidisset. Vocula nec adventum hostium exploravit, eoque simul egressus victusque: dein victoriae parum confusus, tritis frustra diebus, castra in hostem movit: quem si statim inpellere, cursumque rerum sequi maturasset, solvere obsidium legionum eodem impetu potuit. Tentaverat interim Civilis obsessorum animos, tanquam perditae apud Romanos res, et suis victoria provenisset. Circumferebantur signa vexillaque: ostentati etiam captivi: ex quibus unus, egregium facinus ausus, clara voce gesta patefecit, confossus illico a Germanis; unde major indici fides. Simul vastatione incendiisque flagrantium villarum, venire victorem exercitum, intelligebatur. 'In conspectu castrorum constitui signa, fossamque et vallum circumdari,' Vocula jubet: 'depositis impedimentis sarcinisque, expediti certarent.' Hinc in ducem clamor pugnam poscentium: et minari adsueverant. Ne tempore quidem ad ordinandam aciem capto, incompositi fessique praelium sumpsere: nam Civilis aderat, non minus vitiis hostium, quam virtute suorum, fretus. Varia apud Romanos fortuna, et seditiosissimus quisque ignavus: quidam, recentis victoriae memores, retinere locum, ferire hostem, seque et proximos hortari: et, redintegrata acie, manus ad obsessos tendere, 'ne temporis deessent.' Illi, cuncta e muris cernentes, omnibus portis prorumpunt. Ac forte Civilis lapsu equi prostratus, credita per utrumque exercitum fama, 'vulneratum aut interfectum,' inmane quantum suis pavoris, et hostibus alacritatis, indidit.

XXXV. Sed Vocula, omissis fugientium tergis, vallum turresque castrorum augebat, tanquam rursus obsidium immineret: corrupta totiens victoria, non falso suspectus bellum malle. Nihil aequae exercitus nostros, quam egestas copiarum, fatigabat. Impedimenta legionum cum inbelli turba Novesium missa, ut inde, terrestri itinere, frumentum adveherent: (c) nam flumine hostes potiebantur. Primum agmen securum

*c Impedimenta—frumentum adveherent.* His baggage-waggons, with all his useless people, were sent to Novesium, with the intent that a supply of provisions for the camp should be brought thence by land.

incessit, nondum satis firmo Civile : qui, ubi ‘ rursus mis-  
 ‘ sos Novesium frumentatores, datasque in præsidium co-  
 ‘ hortēs, velut multa pace ingredi accepit,’ rarum apud sig-  
 na militem, arma in vehiculis, cunctos licentia vagos, compo-  
 situs invadit : præmissis, qui pontes et viarum angusta in-  
 siderent : pugnatum longo agmine et incerto Marte, donec  
 prælium nox dirimeret. Cohortes Geldubam perrexere,  
 manentibus, ut fuerant, castris, quæ relictorum illic militum  
 præsidio tenebantur. Non erat dubium, quantum in re-  
 gressis discriminis adeundum foret, frumentatoribus onus-  
 tis percussisque. Addit exercitui suo Vocula mille delec-  
 tos e quinta et quintadecima legionibus, apud Vetera obses-  
 sis, indomitum militem et Ducibus infensum. Plures, quam  
 jussum erat, profecti, palam in agmine fremebant, ‘ non se  
 ‘ ultra famem, insidias Legatorum, toleraturos.’ At, qui  
 remanserant, ‘ desertos se, abducta parte legionum,’ que-  
 rebantur. Duplex hinc seditio ; aliis revocantibus Vocu-  
 lam, aliis redire in castra abnuentibus.

XXXVI. Interim Civilis Vetera circumscedit. Vocula  
 Geldubam atque inde Novesium concessit. Civilis capit  
 Geldubam. Mox, haud procul Novesio, equestri prælio  
 prospere certavit. Sed miles secundis adversisque perin-  
 de in exitium Ducum accendebatur. Et adventu quintano-  
 rum quintadecimanorumque auctæ legiones, ‘ donativum’  
 exposcunt, comperto pecuniam a Vitellio missam. Nec  
 diu cunctatus Hordeonius nomine Vespasiani dedit. Idque  
 præcipuum fuit seditionis alimentum. Effusi in luxum et  
 epulas, et nocturnos cœtus, veterem in Hordeonium iram  
 renovant : nec ullo Legatorum Tribunorumve obsistere  
 auso, (quippe omnem pudorem nox ademerat) protractum  
 e cubili interficiunt. Eadem in V oculam parabantur, nisi  
 servili habitu, per tenebras, ignoratus evasisset. Ubi, se-  
 dato inpetu, metus rediit : Centuriones cum epistolis ad ci-  
 vitates Galliarum misere, auxilia ac stipendia oraturos.

XXXVII. Ipsi, ut est vulgus sine rectore præceps, pa-  
 vidum, socors, adventante Civile, raptis temere armis ac  
 statim omissis, in fugam vertuntur. Res adversæ discordi-  
 am peperere, iis, qui e superiore exercitu erant, caussam  
 suam dissociantibus. (d) Vitellii tamen imagines, in cas-  
 tris et per proximas Belgarum civitates, repositæ, cum jam

d *Caussam suam dissociantibus.* Because they preferred Vespasian.



Vitellius occidisset. Dein mutati in pœnitentiam primani quartanique et duodevicesimani, Voculam sequuntur : apud quem resumpto Vespasiani sacramento, ad liberandum Magontiaci obsidium ducebantur. Discesserant obsessores, mixtus ex Cattis, Usipiis, Mattiacis (*e*) exercitus, satietate prædæ, nec incruenti. In via dispersos et nescios miles noster invaserat. Quin et loricam vallumque per fines suos Treveri struxere, magnisque invicem cladibus cum Germanis certabant, donec egregia erga Populum Romanum mèrita mox rebelles fœdarent.

XXXVIII. Interea Vespasianus iterum ac Titus Consulatum absentes inierunt ; mæsta et multiplici metu suspensa civitate, quæ, super instantia mala, falsos pavores induerat : ‘descivisse Africam : (*f*) res novas moliente L. Pisonè.’ Is præerat provinciæ, nequaquam turbidus ingenio : sed, quia naves sævitia hiemis prohibebantur, vulgus, alimenta in dies mercari solitum, cui una ex Republica annonæ cura, (*g*) clausum litus, retineri commeatus, dum timet, credebat ; augmentibus famam Vitellianis, qui studium partium nondum posuerant ; ne victoribus quidem ingrato rumore, quorum cupiditates, externis quoque bellis inexplebiles, nulla umquam civilis victoria satiavit.

XXXIX. Kalendis Januariis in Senatu, quem Julius Fróntinus, (*h*) Prætor urbanus, vocaverat, Legatis exercitibusque ac Regibus, ‘laudes gratesque’ decretæ : et Terio Juliano Prætura, ‘tamquam transgredientem in partes Vespasiani legionem deseruisset,’ ablata, ut in Plotium Gríphum transferretur. Hormo dignitas Equestris data. Et mox, ejurante Frontino, Cæsar Domitianus Præturam cepit. Ejus nomen epistolis edictisque præponebatur, vis penes Mucianum erat : nisi quod pleraque Domitianus, instigantibus amicis, aut propria libidine, audebat. Sed præcipuus Muciano metus e Primo Antonio Varoque Arrio : quos re-

*e* *Catti*, a people of Germany, who inhabited part of the country now called *Hesse*, from the mountains of *Hartz* to the *Weser* and the *Rhine*. *Usipii*, a people of Germany, who, after their expulsion by the *Catti*, settled near *Paderborn*. *Mattiaci*, a branch of the *Catti*. Their capital town was *Mattium*, supposed to be *Marpourg*, in *Hesse*.

*f* *Africam*. The province of Africa, now the kingdom of *Tunis*.  
*g* *Cui una ex republica annonæ cura*. Of all that concerns the republic, the price of grain is their only care.

*h* *Frontinus*, being city-prætor, convened the Senate on the first of January, in the absence of the consuls, Vespasian and his son Titus.

centes, clarosque rerum fama ac militum studiis, etiam populus fovebat, quia in neminem ultra aciem sævierant. Et ferebatur Antonius Scribonianum Crassum, (i) egregiis majoribus et fraterna imagine fulgentem, ad capessendam Rempublicam hortatus: haud defutura consociorum manu, ni Scribonianus abnuisset, ne paratis quidem conrumpi facilis, adeo metuens incerta. Igitur Mucianus, quia propalam opprimi Antonius nequibat, multis in Senatu laudibus cumulatam, secretis promissis onerat, 'citeriorem Hispaniam' ostentans, 'discessu Cluvii Rufi vacuam;' simul amicis ejus Tribunatus Præfecturasque largitur. Dein, postquam inanem animum spe et cupidine inpleverat, vires abolet: dimissa in hiberna legione septima, cujus flagrantissimus in Antonium amor. Et tertia legio, familiaris Arrio Varo miles, in Syriam remissa. Pars exercitus in Germanias ducebatur. Sic egesto, quidquid turbidum, redit urbi sua forma legesque et munia Magistratum.

XL. Quo die Senatum ingressus est Domitianus, 'de absentia patris fratrisque ac juvenia sua' pauca et modica disseruit, decorus habitu: et, ignotis adhuc moribus, crebra oris confusio pro modestia accipiebatur. Referente Cæsare, 'de restituendis Galbæ honoribus,' censuit Curtius Montanus, 'ut Pisonis quoque memoria celebraretur.' Patres utrumque jussere: de Pisone inritum fuit. Tum sorte ducti, 'per quos redderentur bello rapta, quique æra legum, (j) vetustate delapsa, noscerent figerentque, et fastos, adulatione temporum fœdatos, exonerarent, modumque publicis impensis facerent.' Redditur Tertio Juliano Prætura, postquam cognitus est ad Vespasianum confugisse: Gripho honor mansit. Repeti inde cognitionem inter Musonium Rufum et P. Celerem placuit, damnatusque Publius et Sorani manibus satisfactum. Insignis publica severitate die ne privatim quidem laude caruit. Justum judicium explesse Musonius videbatur: diversa fama Demetrio, (k) Cynicam sectam professo; quod manifestum reum ambitiosius, quam honestius, defendisset. Ipsi Publio ne-

i Scribonianus Crassus was the brother of Piso, whom Galba adopted. Hist. i. s. 15 and 16.

j *Æra legum.* The Roman laws were engraved on tablets of brass, and exposed in public places, to be read by the people.

k Demetrius attended Thræsea in his last moments. Annals, xvi. s. 36. And now the same man defends the prosecutor of Soranus: such was the consistency of a philosopher by profession.

que animus in periculis, neque oratio suppeditavit. Signo ultionis in adcursores dato, petit a Cæsare Junius Mauricus, (*l*) ‘ut commentariorum Principalium potestatem Senatui faceret, per quos nosceret, quem quisque adcursum poposcisset. Consulendum tali super re Principem,’ respondit.

XLI. Senatus, inchoantibus primoribus, iurjurandum concepit, quo certatim omnes Magistratus, ceteri ut sententiam rogabantur, ‘Deos testes’ advocabant, ‘nihil ope sua factum, quo cujusquam salus læderetur, neque se præmii, aut honorem, ex calamitate civium cepisse:’ trepidis et verba iurjurandi per varias artes mutantibus, quis flagitii conscientia inerat. Probabant religionem Patres, perjurium arguebant. (*m*) Eaque velut censura in Sarioleum Voculam et Nonium Actianum et Cestium Severum acerrime incubuit, crebris apud Neronem delationibus famosos. Sarioleum et recens crimen urgebat, quod apud Vitellium molitus eadem foret: nec destitit Senatus manus intentare Voculæ, donec curia excederet. Ad Pactium Africanum transgressi, eum quoque proturbant: tamquam Neroni Scribonios fratres, (*n*) concordia opibusque insignes, ad exitium monstravisset. Africanus neque fateri audebat, neque abnuere poterat: in Vibium Crispum, cujus interrogationibus fatigabatur, ultro conversus, miscendo quæ defendere nequibat, societate culpæ invidiam declinavit.

XLII. Magnam eo die pietatis eloquentiæque famam Vipstanus Messala adeptus est, nondum Senatoria ætate, ausus pro fratre, Æquilio Regulo, (*o*) deprecari. Regulum subversa Crassorum et Orphiti domus in summum odium extulerat. Sponte ex S.C. (*p*) adcursum subisse juvenis ad-

*l* See the praise of Mauricus in Pliny the younger, book iv. epist. 22. Also life of Agricola, s. 45.

*m* *Probabant religionem—arguebant.* Murphy translates this sentence thus: The remorse of scrupulous minds the fathers approved, but equivocal swearing they condemned as perjury.

*n* The two Scribonii, whose names were Rufus and Proculus, were put to death by Nero, at the instigation of Pactius Africanus, A. U. C. 820.

*o* Regulus was a practised informer. Pliny calls him *Bipedum nequissimus*. Book i. Epist. 5.

*p* *Sponte ex senatusconsulto.* Barbou thinks this expression incorrect, and Colerus and Gruterus suppose that the two last words should be expunged. But might he not have voluntarily offered to institute the prosecution, and afterwards have been appointed, by a decree of the Senate, their agent to manage it,



modum, nec depellendi periculi, sed in spem potentiae videbatur. Et Sulpicia Prætextata, Crassi uxor, quatuorque liberi, si cognosceret Senatus, ultores aderant. Igitur Messala non caussam, neque reum tueri, sed periculis fratris semet opponens, flexerat quosdam. Occurrit truci orationi Curtius Montanus, eo usque progressus, ut, 'post cædem Galbæ, datam interfectori Pisonis pecuniam a Regulo, adpetitumque morsu Pisonis caput,' objectaret. 'Hoc certe,' inquit, 'Nero non coegit, nec dignitatem, aut salutem, illa sævitia redimisti. Sane toleremus istorum defensiones, qui perdere alios, quam periclitari ipsi, maluerunt. Te securum reliquerat exsul pater, et divisa inter creditores bona, nondum honorum capax ætas: nihil quod ex te concupisceret Nero, nihil quod timeret: libidine sanguinis et hiatu præmiorum ignotum adhuc ingenium, et nullis defensionibus expertum, cæde nobili inuisti: cum ex funere Reipublicæ raptis Consularibus spoliis, septuagies sestertio (*q*) saginatus et sacerdotio fulgens, innoxios pueros, illustres senes, conspicuas feminas eadem ruina prosterneres: cum segnitiam Neronis incusares, quod per singulas domos seque et delatores fatigaret: posse univ ersum Senatum una voce subverti. Retinete, Patres conscripti, et reseruate hominem tam expediti consilii, ut omnis ætas instructa sit, et quomodo senes nostri Marcellum, Crispum, juvenes Regulum, imitentur. Invenit etiam æmulos infelix nequitia: quid si floreat vigeatque? Et quem adhuc Quæstorium offendere non audemus, Prætorium et Consularem visuri sumus? An Neronem extremum dominorum putatis? Idem crediderant, qui Tiberio, qui Caio, superstites fuerunt: cum interim intestabilior et sævior exortus est. Non timemus Vespasianum: ea Principis ætas, ea moderatio. Sed diutius durant exempla, quam mores. (*r*) Elanguimus, Patres conscripti, nec jam ille Senatus sumus, qui, occiso Nerone, delatores et ministros more majorum puniendos flagitabat. Optimus est, post malum Principem, dies primus.'

XLIII. Tanto cum adsensu Senatus auditus est Monta-

*q* *Septuagies sestertio*. When a numeral adverb is joined to *sestertium*, it means so many hundred thousand sestertii.

*r* *Diutius durant exempla, quam mores*. Bad examples exert a more lasting influence than virtuous actions. Lipsius supposes that *auctores* should be substituted for *mores*.

nus, ut spem caperet Helvidius, (s) posse etiam Marcellum prosterni. Igitur a laude Cluvii Rufi orsus, qui, perinde dives et eloquentia clarus, nulli umquam sub Nerone periculum facessisset, crimine simul exemploque Eprium urgebat: ardentibus Patrum animis: quod ubi sensit Marcellus, velut excedens curia: ‘Imus,’ inquit, ‘Prisce, et relinquitur tibi Senatum tuum: regna, præsentē Cæsare.’ Sequēbatur Vibius Crispus: ambo infensi vultu diverso. Marcellus minacibus oculis, Crispus renidens: donec ad cursu amicorum retraherentur. Cum glisceret certamen, hinc multi bonique, inde pauci et validi, pertinacibus odiis tenderent, consumptus per discordiam dies.

XLIV. Proximo Senatu, inchoante Cæsare, ‘de abolendo dolore iraque, et priorum temporum necessitatibus,’ censuit Mucianus prolece pro adūsatoribus: simul eos, qui cœptam, dein omissam, actionem repeterent, monuit sermone molli et tamquam rogaret. Patres cœptatam libertatem, postquam obviam itum, omisere. Mucianus, ne sperni Senatus iudicium, et cunctis sub Nerone admissis data inpunitas videretur, Octaviū Sagittam (t) et Antistium Sosianum, Senatorii ordinis, egressos exsilium, in eadem insulas redegit. Octavius Pontiam Postumiam, stupro cognitam et nuptias suas abnuentem, inpotens amoris interfecerat; Sosianus pravitate morum multis exitiosus. Ambo gravi Senatusconsulto damnati pulsique, quamvis concessō aliis reditu, in eadem pœna retenti sunt. Nec ideo lenita erga Mucianum invidia. Quippe Sosianus ac Sagitta viles, etiam si reverterentur: adūsatorum ingenia et opes et exercita malis artibus potentia timebantur.

XLV. Reconciliavit paullisper studia Patrum habita in Senatu cognitio secundum veterem morem. Manlius Patritius, Senator, ‘pulsatum se in colonia Senensi (u) cœtu multitudinis et jussu Magistratuum,’ querebatur: ‘nec finem injuriæ hic stetisse: planctum et lamenta et supremorum imaginem præsentī sibi circumdata cum contumeliis et probris, quæ in Senatum universum jacerentur.’ Vocati, qui arguebantur. Et, cognita caussa, in convictos vindicatum. Additumque senatusconsultum, quo Senensium

s *Helvidius*. See this book. s. 5 and 6.

t The murder, committed by Octavius Sabinus Sagitta, is related more fully, Annals, xiii. s. 44.

u *Senensis Colonia*, now Sienna, in Tuscany.

plebes modestiæ admoneretur. Iisdem diebus Antonius Flamma Cyrenensibus damnatur (*v*) lege repetundarum, et exsilio obsævitiam. Inter quæ militaris seditio prope exarsit.

XLVI. Prætorianam militiam repetebant a Vitellio dimissi, pro Vespasiano congregati: et inlectus in eandem spem, e legionibus miles promissa stipendia flagitabat: ne Vitelliani quidem sine multa cæde pelli poterant; sed imensa pecunia dicebatur, qua tanta vis hominum retinenda erat. Ingressus castra Mucianus, quo rectius stipendia singulorum spectaret, suis cum insignibus armisque victores constituit, modicis inter se spatiis discretos. Tum Vitelliani, quos apud Bovillas in deditionem acceptos memoravimus, ceterique per urbem et urbi vicina conquisiti producuntur prope intecto corpore. 'Eos' Mucianus 'diduci, et Germanicum Britannicumque militem, ac si qui aliorum exercituum, separatim adstistere,' jubet. Illos primus statim adspectus obstupescerat: cum ex diverso velut aciem, telis et armis truem, semet clausos nudosque et inlue deformes, adspicerent. Ut vero huc illuc distrahi cœpere, metus per omnes et præcipua Germanici militis formido, tamquam ea separatione ad cædem destinarentur: prensare commanipularium pectora, cervicibus innecti, suprema oscula petere, 'ne desererentur soli, neu, in pari caussa, disparem fortunam paterentur:' modo Mucianum, modo absentem Principem, postremum cælum ac Deos obtestari: donec Mucianus, 'cunctos ejusdem sacramenti, ejusdem Imperatoris milites' adpellans, falso timori obviam iret. Namque et victor exercitus clamore lacrimas eorum juvabat. Isque finis illa die. Paucis post diebus, adloquentem Domitianum firmati jam exceperere. Spernunt oblatos agros: 'militiam et stipendia' orant. Preces erant, sed quibus contradici non posset: igitur in Prætorium accepti. Dein, quibus ætas et justa stipendia, dimissi cum honore, alii ob culpam; sed carptim ac singuli: quo tutissimo remedio consensus multitudinis extenuatur.

XLVII. Ceterum verane pauperie, an uti videretur, actum in Senatu, 'ut sexcenties sestertium (*w*) a privatis mutuum acciperetur.' Præpositusque ei curæ Poppæus Silvanus: nec multo post necessitas abiit, sive omissa si-

*v* *Cyrenensibus damnatur.* Those are said to condemn [the defendant, who bring about his condemnation by the judges.

*w* *Sexcenties Sestertium.* See this book, s. 42, note (*q*.)



mulatio. Abrogati inde, legem ferente Domitiano, Consulatus, quos Vitellius dederat. Funusque Censorium (*x*) Flavio Sabino ductum : magna documenta instabilis Fortunæ, summaque et ima miscentis.

XLVIII. Sub idem tempus L. Piso Proconsul interficitur. Ea de cæde quam verissime expediam, si pauca supra repetiero, ab initio caussisque talium facinorum non absurda. Legio in Africa auxiliaque tutandis Imperii finibus, sub Divo Augusto Tiberioque Principibus, Proconsuli parebant. Mox C. Cæsar, turbidus animi, ac M. Silanum, obtinentem Africam, metuens, ablatam Proconsuli legionem, misso in eam rem Legato tradidit: æquatus inter duos beneficiorum numerus et, mixtis utriusque mandatis, discordia quæsitæ, auctaque pravo certamine. (*y*) Legatorum vis adolevit diuturnitate officii, vel quia minoribus major æmulandi cura; Proconsulum splendidissimus quisque securitati magis, quam potentiæ consulebant.

XLIX. Sed tum legionem in Africa regebat Valerius Festus, sumptuosæ adolescentiæ, neque modica cupiens, et adfinitate Vitellii anxius. Is crebris sermonibus tentaveritne Pisonem ad res novas, an tentanti restiterit, incertum; quoniam secreto eorum nemo adfuit, et, occiso Pisone, plerique ad gratiam interfectoris inclinavere. Nec ambigitur, provinciam et militem alienato erga Vespasianum animo fuisse: et quidam e Vitellianis, urbe profugi, ostentabant Pisoni ‘nutantes Gallias, paratam Germaniam, pericula ipsius ‘et in pace suspecta tutius bellum.’ Inter quæ Claudius Sagitta, Præfectus alæ Petrinæ, prospera navigatione prævenit Papirium, Centurionem, a Muciano missum, adseveravitque ‘mandata interficiendi Pisonis Centurioni data. ‘Cecidisse Galerianum, consobrinum ejus generumque. ‘Unam in audacia spem salutis. Sed duo itinera audendi; ‘seu mallet statim arma, seu petita navibus Gallia, Ducem ‘se Vitellianis exercitibus ostenderet.’ Nihil ad ea moto Pisone, Centurio a Muciano missus, ut portum Carthaginis adtigit, magna voce læta Pisoni omina, tamquam Principi,

*x Funus censorium.* See Annals, iv. 15.

*y Beneficiorum numerus.* Lipsius supposes *beneficia* to mean military promotion. *Numerus* signifies right, privilege.

*Diuturnitate officii.* An imperial lieutenant continued in office until recalled by the Emperor; while a proconsul held his office for four years only.

continuare; obvios et subitæ rei miraculo adtonitos, ut eadem adstreperent, hortari: vulgus credulum, ruere in forum: 'præsentiam Pisonis' exposcere. Gaudio clamoribusque cuncta miscebant, indiligentia veri et adulandi libidine. Piso, indicio Sagittæ, vel insita modestia, non in publicum egressus est, neque se studiis vulgi permisit. Centurionemque percunctatus, postquam, 'quæsitum sibi' crimen cædemque, comperit, 'animadverti in eum' iussit, haud perinde spe vitæ, quam ira in percussorem, quod idem ex interfectorebus Clodii Macri, (z) cruentas Legati sanguine manus ad cædem Proconsulis retulisset. Anxio deinde edicto Carthaginensibus increpitis, ne solita quidem munia usurpabat, clausus intra domum, ne qua motus novi caussa vel forte oriretur.

L. Sed, ubi Festo consternatio vulgi, Centurionis supplicium, veraque et falsa, more famæ, in majus innotuere, equites in necem Pisonis mittit. Illi raptim vecti, obscuro adhuc cœptæ lucis, domum Proconsulis inrumpunt, destrictis gladiis: et magna pars Pisonis ignari, quod Pœnos auxiliares Maurosque in eam cædem delegerat: haud procul cubiculo, obvium forte servum, 'quisnam et ubi esset' 'Piso?' interrogavere. Servus egregio mendacio, 'se' 'Pisonem esse,' respondit: ac statim obtruncatur: nec multo post Piso interficitur. Namque aderat, qui nosceret, Bebius Massa, (a) e Procuratoribus Africæ, jam tunc optimo cuique exitiosus, et in caussas malorum, quæ mox tulimus, sæpius rediturus. Festus Adrumeto, (b) ubi speculabundus substiterat, ad legionem contendit. Præfectumque castrorum, Cetronium Pisanum, vinciri iussit, proprias ob simultates: sed 'Pisonis satellitem' vocabat, militesque et Centuriones quosdam puniit, alios præmiis adfecit: neutrum ex merito, sed ut oppressisse bellum crederetur. Mox Cænsium, Leptitanorumque (c) discordias componit, quæ, raptu frugum et pecorum inter agrestes, modicis principiis, jam per arma atque acies exercebantur. Nam populus Cænsis, multitudine inferior, Garamantas exciverat, gentem indomitam et inter adcolas latrociniiis fecundam.

z *Clodii Macri*. See Hist. i. 7.

a For more of Bebius Massa, see Life of Agric. s. 45.

b *Adrumetum*, a Phœnician colony in Africa.

c *Cænses*, a people of Africa, who occupied the country between the two Syrtes and the Mediterranean. Their chief town was called *Oea*, now Tripoli. Leptis, now *Lebeda*, was near *Oea*.

Unde arctæ Leptitanis res, lateque vastatis agris intra mœnia trepidabant: donec, interventu cohortium alarumque, fusi Garamantes et recepta omnis præda, nisi quam vagi per inaccessa mapalium ulterioribus vendiderant.

LI. At Vespasiano, post Cremonensem pugnam et prosperos undique nuntios, 'cecidisse Vitellium,' multi cujusque ordinis, pari audacia fortunaque hibernum mare adgressi, nuntiavere. Aderant legati Regis Vologesi, 'quadraginta Parthorum equitum millia' offerentes. Magnificum lætumque, tantis sociorum auxiliis ambiri, neque indigere. Gratia Vologeso actæ, mandatumque, 'ut legatos ad Senatum mitteret et pacem esse sciret.' Vespasianus, in Italiam resque urbis intentus, adversam de Domitiano famam accipit: 'tamquam terminos ætatis et concessa filio egrederetur.' Igitur validissimam exercitus partem Tito tradit, ad reliqua Judaici belli perpetranda.

LII. Titum, antequam digrederetur, multo apud patrem sermone orasse dicebatur, 'ne criminantium nuntiis temere accenderetur: integrumque se ac placabilem filio præstaret. Non legiones, non classes, perinde firma imperii munimenta, quam numerum liberorum. Nam amicos tempore, fortuna, cupidinibus aliquando, aut erroribus, imminui, transferri, desinere: suum cuique sanguinem indiscretum, (*d*) sed maxime Principibus: quorum prosperis et alii fruuntur, adversa adjunctissimos pertineant: ne fratribus quidem mansuram concordiam, ni parens exemplum præbisset.' Vespasianus, haud æque Domitiano mitigatus, quam Titi pietate gaudens, 'bono esse animo' jubet 'belloque et armis Rempublicam adtollere: sibi pacem domumque curæ fore. Tum celerrimas navium, frumento onustas, sævo adhuc mari committit. Quippe tanto discrimine urbs nutabat, ut decem haud amplius dierum frumentum in horreis fuerit, cum a Vespasiano commeatus subvenere.

LIII. Curam restituendi capitolii in L. Vestinum confert, Equestris ordinis virum, sed auctoritate famaue inter proceres. Ab eo contracti Haruspices monuere, 'ut reliquiæ prioris delubri in paludes aveherentur: templum iisdem vestigiis sisteretur: nolle Deos, mutari veterem formam.' Undecimo Kal. Julias, serena luce spatium omne, quod

*d* Suum cuique sanguinem indiscretum. The ties of blood cannot be dissolved.



templo dicabatur, evinctum vittis coronisque. Ingressi milites, quîs fausta nomina, felicibus ramis: (e) dein virgines Vestales, cum pueris puellisque patrimis matrimisque, aqua, vivis e fontibus amnibusque hausta, perluere. Tum Helvidius Priscus, Prætor, præeunte Plautio Æliano, Pontifice, lustrata suovetaurilibus area, et super cespitem reditis extis, 'Jovem, Junonem, Minervam præsidesque Im-  
'perii deos' precatus, 'uti cœpta prosperarent, sedesque  
'suas, pietate hominum inchoatas, Divina ope adtollerent;'  
vittas, quîs ligatus lapis, innexique funes erant, contigit. Simul ceteri Magistratus et Sacerdotes et Senatus et Eques et magna pars populi, studio lætitiaque connixi, saxum ingens traxere: passimque injectæ fundamentis argenti aurique stipes et metallorum primitiæ, nullis fornacibus victæ, sed ut gignuntur. Prædixere Haruspices, ne temeraretur opus saxo aurove, in aliud destinato. Altitudo ædibus adjecta. (f) Id solum religio adnuere, et prioris templi magnificentiæ defuisse creditum.

LIV. Audita interim per Gallias Germaniasque mors Vitellii duplicaverat bellum. Nam Civilis, omissa dissimulatione, in Populum Romanum ruere. Vitellianæ legiones vel externum servitium, quam Imperatorem Vespasianum, malle. Galli sustulerant animos, eandem ubique exercituum nostrorum fortunam rati: vulgato rumore, 'a Sarmatis  
'Dacisque Mœsica ac Pannonica hiberna circumsideri:'  
paria de Britannia fingebantur. Sed nihil æque, quam incendium capitolii, ut finem Imperio adesse crederent, impulerat. 'Captam olim a Gallis urbem: sed, integra Jovis  
'sede, mansisse Imperium. Fatali nunc igne signum cæ-  
'lestis iræ datum, et possessionem rerum humanarum Tran-  
'salpinis gentibus portendi,' superstitione vana Druidæ, (g) canebant. Incesseratque fama, primores Galliarum, ab Othone adversus Vitellium missos, antequam digrederentur, pepigisse, 'ne deessent libertati, si Populum Roma-

e *Quis fausta nomina.* In all solemn ceremonies, the Romans selected for the performers, men whose names they thought propitious. See Cicero, *de Divinatione*, book i. s. 102. *Felicibus ramis*, branches of the laurel, olive, &c.

f The splendour and magnificence of the Capitol are described by Plutarch, *Life of Agricola*.

g The order of Druids had been suppressed in Gaul by Tiberius. Pliny, book xxx. s. 4; and the Emperor Claudius extinguished their religion—Suetonius, in Claud. s. 25. It is probable, therefore, that a race of Druids was sent to Britain.

‘num continua bellorum civilium series et interna malo fregissent.’

LV. Ante Flacci Hordeonii cædem, nihil prorupit, quo conjuratio intelligeretur. Interfecto Hordeonio, comeevere nuntii inter Civilem Classicumque, Præfectum alæ Treverorum. Classicus nobilitate opibusque ante alios. Regium illi genus et pace belloque clara origo. Ipse e majoribus suis hostis Populi Romani quam socius, jactabat. Miscuere sese Julius Tutor et Julius Sabinus : hic Trevir, hic Lingon. Tutor ripæ Rheni a Vitellio præfectus : Sabinus, super insitam vanitatem, falsæ stirpis gloria incendebatur : ‘provinciam suam D. Julio, per Gallias bellanti, corpore atque adulterio placuisse.’ Hi secretis sermonibus animos ceterorum scrutari : ubi, quos idoneos rebantur, conscientia obstrinxere, in colonia Agrippinensi in domum privatam conveniunt : nam publice civitas talibus inceptis abhorrebat : attamen interfuere quidam Ubiorum Tungrorumque. Sed plurima vis penes Treveros ac Lingonas : (h) nec tulere moras consultandi : certatim proclamant : ‘furere discordiis Populum Romanum, cæsas legiones, vastatam Italiam, capi cum maxime urbem, omnes exercitus suis quemque bellis detineri : si Alpes præsidiis firmentur, coalita libertate, dispecturas Gallias, quem virium suarum terminum velint.’

LVI. Hæc dicta pariter probataque : de reliquiis Vitelliani exercitus dubitavere. Plerique ‘interficiendos’ censebant, ‘turbidos, infidos, sanguine ducum pollutos.’ Vicit ratio parcendi : ‘ne, sublata spe veniæ, pertinaciam accenderent. Adliciendos potius in societatem. Legatis tantum legionum interfectis, ceterum vulgus, conscientia scelerum et spe impunitatis, facile accessurum.’ Ea primi consilii forma : missique per Gallias concitores belli. Simulatum ipsis obsequium, quo incautiores Voculam opprimerent. Nec defuere, qui Voculæ nuntiarent. Sed vires ad coercendum deerant, infrequentibus infidisque legionibus. Inter ambiguos milites et occultos hostes, optimum e presentibus, ratus mutua dissimulatione et iisdem, quibus petebatur, artibus, grassari ; in coloniam Agrippinensem descen-

*h Ubiorum.* See this book, s. xxviii. note, (u.) The *Tungri* were a people of Belgia. Their city, according to Cæsar, was called *Atuaca*, now *Tongeren*, in the bishoprick of Liege. For the *Treveri*, see book i. s. 63. note, (o.) The *Lingones* were a people of Belgic Gaul, inhabiting the country about *Langres* and *Dijon*.

dit. Illuc Claudius Labeo, quem, captum et extra conventum (*i*) amandatum in Frisios, diximus, conruptis custodibus perfugit: pollicitusque, 'si præsidium daretur, iterum in 'Batavos et potiolem civitatis partem ad societatem Romanam retracturum;' accepta peditum equitumque modica manu, nihil apud Batavos ausus, quosdam Nerviorum Betasiorumque (*j*) in arma traxit. Et furtim magis, quam bello, Caninefates Marsacosque incursabat. Vocula, Gallorum fraude inlectus, ad hostem contendit.

LVII. Nec procul Veteribus aberat, cum Classicus ac Tutor, per speciem explorandi prægressi, cum Ducibus Germanorum pacta firmavere. Tumque primum discreti a legionibus proprio vallo castra sua circumdant, obtestante Vocula, 'Non adeo turbatam civilibus armis rem Romanam, ut Treveris etiam Lingonibusque despectui sit. 'Superesse fidas provincias, victores exercitus, fortunam 'Imperii, et ultores deos. Sic olim Sacrovirum et Æduos, 'nuper Vindicem (*k*) Galliasque, singulis præliis concidisse. Eadem rursus Numina, eadem fata, ruptores foederum expectarent. Melius D. Julio Divoque Augusto 'notos eorum animos. Galbam, et infracta tributa, (*l*) 'hostiles spiritus induisse. Nunc hostes, quia molle servitium; cum spoliati exutique fuerint, amicos fore.' Hæc ferociter locutus, postquam perstare in perfidia Classicum Tutoremque videt, verso itinere, Novesium concedit. Galli dum millium spatio distantibus campis consedere. Illuc commeantium Centurionum militumque emebantur animi: ut (flagitium incognitum) Romanus exercitus in externa verba jurarent, pignusque tanti sceleris nece aut vinculis Legatorum daretur. Vocula, quamquam plerique fugam suadebant, audendum ratus, vocata concione, in hunc modum disseruit.

LVIII. 'Numquam apud vos verba feci, aut pro vobis 'sollicitior, aut pro me securior. Nam mihi exitium parari, libens audio: mortemque in tot malis honestam, ut

*i* *Extra conventum.* Out of the country of those who were leagued in arms against the Romans.

*j* *Betasii*, inhabitants of what is now called *Brabant*.

*k* For *Sacrovir*, see *Annals*, iii. s. 46. For *Vindex*, and the revolt of Gaul under his conduct, see *Mur. Tac. App. to Ann. xvi. s. 12*.

*l* *Infracta tributa.* Galba had granted to some cities an exemption from tribute, or lessened the amount of what they were obliged to pay.



finem (*m*) miseriarum, exspecto. Vestri me pudet misere-  
 retque, adversus quos non prœlium et acies parantur, id  
 enim fas armorum et jus hostium : bellum cum Populo  
 Romano vestris se manibus gesturum, Classicus sperat,  
 Imperiumque et sacramentum Galliarum ostentat. Adeo  
 nos, si fortuna in præsens virtusque deseruit, etiam vetera  
 exempla deficiunt : quotiens Romanæ legiones perire  
 præoptaverint, ne loco pellerentur : socii sæpe nostri,  
 exscindi urbes suas, seque cum conjugibus ac liberis cre-  
 mari, pertulerunt : neque aliud pretium exitus, quam fides  
 famaue. Tolerant cum maxime inopiam obsidiumque  
 apud Vetera (*n*) legiones, nec terrore, aut promissis de-  
 moventur. Nobis, super arma et viros et egregia castro-  
 rum munimenta, frumentum et commeatus, quamvis longo  
 bello pares. Pecunia nuper etiam donativo suffecit :  
 quod sive a Vespasiano, sive a Vitellio, datum interpreta-  
 ri mavultis, ab Imperatore certe Romano accepistis.  
 Tot bellorum victores, apud Geldubam, apud Vetera,  
 fuso totiens hoste, si pavetis aciem, indignum id quidem :  
 sed est vallum murique et trahendi artes, donec e proxi-  
 mis provinciis auxilia exercitusque concurrant. Sane ego  
 displiceam : sunt alii Legati, Tribuni, Centurio denique,  
 aut miles. Ne hoc prodigium toto terrarum orbe vulge-  
 tur, vobis satellitibus, Civilem et Classicum Italiam inva-  
 suros. An, si ad mœnia urbis Germani Gallique duxe-  
 rint, arma patriæ inferetis ? Horret animus tanti flagitii  
 imagine. Tutorin' Trevero agentur excubiæ ? Signum  
 belli Batavus dabit ? Germanorum catervas supplebitis ?  
 quis deinde sceleris exitus ? cum Romanæ legiones con-  
 tra direxerint : transfugæ e transfugis, et proditores e  
 proditoribus, inter recens et vetus sacramentum invisi  
 Deis errabitis ? Te, Jupiter optime maxime, quem per  
 octingentos viginti annos, tot triumphis coluimus, te, Qui-  
 rine, Romanæ parens urbis, precor venerorque, ut, si vo-  
 bis non fuit cordi, me Duce hæc castra inconrupta et in-  
 temerata servari, at certe pollui fœdarique a Tutore et  
 Classico ne sinatis. Militibus Romanis aut innocentiam  
 detis, aut maturam et sine noxa pœnitentiam.'

LIX. Varie excepta oratio, inter spem metumque ad pu-

*m Hostium ut finem.* Lipsius supposes the true reading to be  
*portum et finem, or honestum ut finem.*

*n Vetera.* See this book, s. xviii. note (*h*.)

dorem. Digressum Vocolam, et de supremis agitantem, liberti servique prohibuere, fœdissimam mortem (*o*) sponte prævenire. Et Classicus, misso Æmilio Longino, desertore primæ legionis, cædem ejus maturavit. Herennium et Numisium, Legatos, vinciri satis visum. Dein, sumptis Romani Imperii insignibus, (*p*) in castra venit. Nec illi, quamquam ad omne facinus durato, verba ultra suppeditavere, quam ut sacramentum recitaret. Juravere, qui aderant, ‘pro Imperio Galliarum.’ Interfectorem Vocolæ altis ordinibus, ceteros, ut quisque flagitium navaverat, præmiis adtollit. Divisæ inde inter Tutorem et Classicum curæ. Tutor valida manu circumdatos Agrippinenses, quantumque militum apud superiorem Rheni ripam, in eadem verba adigit, occisis Magontiaci Tribunis, pulso castrorum Præfecto, qui detrectaverant. Classicus corruptissimum quemque e deditis ‘pergere ad obsessos’ jubet, ‘veniam ostentantes, si præsentia sequerentur: aliter nihil spei, famem ferrumque et extrema passuros.’

LX. Adjecere, qui missi erant, exemplum suum. Obsessos hinc fides, inde egestas, inter decus ac flagitium distrahebant. Cunctantibus solita insolitaque alimenta deerant; absumptis jumentis equisque et ceteris animalibus, quæ profana fœdaque in usum necessitas vertit. Virgulta postremo, et stirpes et internatas saxis herbas vellentes, miseriarum patientiæque documentum fuere: donec egregiam laudem fine turpi macularent, missis ad Civilem legatis, ‘vitam’ orantes. Neque ante preces admissæ, quam in verba Galliarum jurarent. Tum, pactus ‘prædam castrorum,’ dat custodes, qui pecuniam, calones, sarcinas retentarent, ac qui ipsos leves abeuntes prosequerentur. Ad quintum fere lapidem coorti Germani incautum agmen adgrediuntur. Pugnacissimus quisque in vestigio, multi palantes, occubuere: ceteri retro in castra profugiunt; querente sane Civile et increpante Germanos, ‘tamquam fidem per scelus abrumperent.’ Simulata ea fuerint, an retinere sævientes nequiverit, parum adfirmatur. Direptis castris, faces injiciunt: cunctosque, qui prælio superfuerant, incendium hausit.

*o* Fœdissimam mortem. He was assassinated.

*p* Romani imperii insignibus. Ernestus supposes that the lictors, with their badges of office, are here referred to.

LXI. Civilis, barbaro voto, (*q*) post cœpta adversus Romanos arma, propexum rutilatumque crinem, patrata demum cæde legionum, deposuit. Et ferebatur, parvulo filio quosdam captivorum, sagittis jaculisque puerilibus figendos, obtulisse. Ceterum neque se, neque quemquam Batavum, in verba Galliarum adegit: sisus Germanorum opibus: et, si certandum adversus Gallos de possessione rerum foret, inclitus fama et potior. Mummius Lupercus, Legatus legionis, inter dona missus Veledæ. Ea virgo nationis Bructeræ late imperitabat: vetere apud Germanos more, quo plerasque feminarum fatidicas, et, augescente superstitione, arbitrantur Deas. Tuncque Veledæ (*r*) auctoritas adolevit: nam ‘prosperas Germanis res et excidium legionum’ prædixerat. Sed Lupercus in itinere interfectus. Pauci Centurionum Tribunorumque, in Gallia geniti, reservantur, pignus societatis. Cohortium, alarum, legionum hiberna subversa cremataque: iis tantum relictis, quæ Magontiaci ac Vindonissæ sita sunt.

LXII. Legio sextadecima cum auxiliis simul deditis a Novesio in coloniam Treverorum transgredi jubetur, præfinita die, intra quam castris excederet. Medium omne tempus per varias curas egere: ignavissimus quisque, cæsorum apud Vetera exemplo, paventes; melior pars rubore et infamia: ‘quale illud iter? quis dux viæ? et omnia in arbitrio eorum, quos vitæ necisque dominos fecissent.’ Alii, nulla dedecoris cura, pecuniam, aut carissima sibimetipsi circumdare. Quidam expedire arma, telisque tamquam in aciem accingi. Hæc meditantibus, advenit proficiscendi hora, expectatione tristior. Quippe intra vallum deformitas haud perinde notabilis: detexit ignominiam campus et dies. Revulsæ Imperatorum imagines, inhonora signa, (*s*) fulgentibus hinc inde Gallorum vexillis: silens agmen, et velut longæ exsequiæ: dux Claudius Sanctus, effosso oculo: dirus ore, ingenio debilior. Duplicatur flagitium, postquam, desertis Bonnensibus castris, altera se legio miscuerat. Et, vulgata captarum legionum fama, cuncti, qui paullo ante Romanorum nomen

*q* *Barbaro voto.* To bind themselves by a solemn vow, not to clip their hair or beard till they had accomplished their revenge, was usual among barbarians. See the manners of the Germans, s. 31.

*r* For *Veleda*, and other prophetic women, see the manners of the Germans, s. 8.

*s* *Inhonora signa.* See Annals i. 24.



horrebant, procurentes ex agris tectisque et undique effusi insolito spectaculo nimium fruebantur. Non tulit ala Picentina (*t*) gaudium insultantis vulgi: spretisque Sancti promissis aut minis, Magontiacum abeunt: ac forte obvio interfectore Voculæ, Longino, coniectis in eum telis, initium exsolvendæ in posterum culpæ fecere. Legiones, nihil mutato itinere, ante mœnia Treverorum considunt.

LXIII. Civilis et Classicus, rebus secundis sublatis, an coloniam Agrippinensem diripiendam exercitibus suis permetterent, dubitavere. Sævitia ingenii et cupidine prædæ ad excidium civitatis trahebantur: obstabat ratio belli, et novum Imperium inchoantibus utilis clementiæ fama. Civilem etiam beneficii memoria flexit, quod filium ejus, primo rerum motu, in colonia Agrippinensi deprehensum, honorate custodierant. Sed Transrhenanis gentibus invisæ civitas, opulentia auctaque. Neque alium finem belli rebantur, quam si promiscua ea cedes omnibus Germanis foret, aut, disjecta, Ubios quoque dispersisset.

LXIV. Igitur Tencteri, Rheno discreta gens, missis legatis, mandata apud concilium Agrippinensium edi jubent: quæ ferocissimus e legatis in hunc modum protulit: ‘Re-  
disse vos in corpus nomenque Germaniæ, communibus  
Deis et præcipuo Deorum, Marti, grates agimus: vobisque gratulamur, quod tandem liberi inter liberos eritis.  
Nam ad hunc diem flumina ac terras et cælum quodammodo ipsum clauserant Romani: ut conloquia congressusque  
nostros arcerent; vel, quod contumeliosius est viris ad  
arma natis, inermes ac prope nudi, sub custode et pretio  
coiremus. Sed, ut amicitia societasque nostra in æternum rata sit, postulamus a vobis, muros coloniæ, munita servitii, detrahatis: (etiam fera animalia, si clausa  
teneas, virtutis obliviscuntur:) Romanos omnes in finibus vestris trucidetis; haud facile libertas et domini miscetur: bona interfectorum in medium cedant, ne quis  
occulere quidquam aut segregare causam suam possit.  
Liceat nobis vobisque utramque ripam colere, ut olim majoribus nostris: quomodo lucem diemque omnibus hominibus; ita omnes terras fortibus viris natura aperuit.  
Instituta cultumque patrium resumite, abruptis voluptatibus, quibus Romani plus adversus subjectos, quam armis,

*t* A squadron of cavalry raised by the people of Picentia, whose territory, called *Ager Picentinus*, lay on the Tuscan Sea.

valent : (*u*) sincerus et integer et servitutis oblitus populus, aut ex æquo agetis, aut aliis imperitabitis.’

LXV. Agrippinenses, sumpto consultandi spatio, quando neque subire conditiones metus futuri, neque palam adspernari conditio præsens, sinebat, in hunc modum respondent. ‘Quæ prima libertatis facultas data est, avidius quam cautius, sumpsimus, ut vobis ceterisque Germanis, consanguineis nostris, jungeremur. Muros civitatis, congregantibus se cum maxime Romanorum exercitibus, augere nobis, quam diruere, tutius est. Si qui ex Italia, aut provincis, alienigenæ in finibus nostris fuerant, eos bellum absumpsit, vel in suas quisque sedes refugere. Deductis olim (*v*) et nobiscum per connubium sociatis, quique mox provenere, hæc patria est. Nec vos adeo iniquos existimamus, ut interfici a nobis parentes, fratres, liberos nostros velitis. Vectigal et onera commerciorum resolvimus. Sint transitus incustoditi ; sed diurni et inermes : donec nova et recentia jura in vetustatem consuetudine vertantur. Arbitrum habebimus Civilem et Veledam, apud quos pacta sancientur.’ Sic lenitis Tencteris, legati ad Civilem et Veledam missi cum donis, cuncta ex voluntate Agrippinensium perpetravere. Sed coram adire adloquique Veledam negatum. Arcebantur adspectu, quo venerationis plus inesset. Ipsa edita in turre : delectus e propinquis consulta responsaque, ut internuntius Numinis, portabat.

LXVI. Civilis, societate Agrippinensium auctus, proximas civitates adfectare, aut adversantibus bellum inferre, statuit. Occupatisque Sunicis, (*w*) et juventute eorum per cohortes composita, quo minus ultra pergeret, Claudius Labeo Betasiorum Tungrorumque et Nerviorum tumultuaria manu restitit : fretus loco, quia pontem Mosæ fluminis anteceperat. Pugnabaturque in angustiis ambigue, donec Germani transnatantes terga Labeonis invasere. Simul Civilis, ausus, an ex composito, intulit se agmini Tungrorum, et clara voce : ‘non ideo,’ inquit, ‘bellum sumpsimus

*u* The Romans, says Murphy, kept the nations in subjection, not so much by their arms, as by the allurements of pleasure, which they called civilization. See also the life of Agricola, s. 21.

*v* *Deductis olim.* *Colonis* is understood : *quique mox provenere*, i. e. those who descended from them.

*w* *Sunici*, a people removed from Germany to Gallia Belgica. According to Cluverius, they inhabited the duchy of Limburg.

‘mus, ut Batavi et Treveri gentibus imperent. Procul hæc a nobis adrogantia : accipite societatem : transgredior ad vos, seu me Ducem, seu militem, mavultis.’ Movebatur vulgus, condebantque gladios ; cum Campanus ac Juvenalis, ex primoribus Tungrorum, universam ei gentem dedidere. Labeo, antequam circumveniretur, profugit. Civilis Betasios quoque ac Nervios, in fidem acceptos, copiis suis adjunxit : ingens rerum, percussis civitatum animis, vel sponte inclinantibus.

LXVII. Interea Julius Sabinus, projectis fœderis Romani monumentis, (x) ‘Cæsarem’ se salutari jubet : magnamque et inconditam popularium turbam in Sequanos rapit, conterminam civitatem et nobis fidam. Nec Sequani (y) detrectavere certamen. Fortuna melioribus adfuit. Fusi Lingones. Sabinus festinatum temere prælium pari formidine deseruit. Utque famam exitii sui faceret, villam, in quam perfugerat, cremavit : illic voluntaria morte interiisse creditus. Sed, quibus artibus latebrisque vitam per novem mox annos traduxerit, simul amicorum ejus constantiam et insigne Epponinæ uxoris exemplum, (z) suo loco reddemus. Sequanorum prospera acie belli inpetus stetit. Resipiscere paullatim civitates, fasque et fœdera respicere, principibus Remis : (a) qui per Gallias edixere, ‘ut missis legatis in commune consultarent, libertas an pax placeret.’

LXVIII. At Romæ cuncta in deterius audita Mucianum angebant, ne, quamquam egregii Duces (jam enim Gallum Annium et Petilium Cerialem delegerat) summam belli parum tolerarent. Nec relinquenda urbs sine rectore. Et Domitiani indomitæ libidines timebantur : suspectis, uti diximus, Primo Antonio Varoque Arrio. Varus, Prætorianis præpositus, vim atque arma retinebat. Eum Mucianus pulsum loco, ne sine solatio ageret, annonæ præfecit. Utque Domitiani animum, Varo haud alienum, deliniret,

x *Monumentis.* Tables of brass, on which was engraved the treaty of alliance between the Romans and the Lingones.

y *Sequani*, a people of Belgic Gaul, inhabiting the country now called *Franche Comte*, or the Upper Burgundy, and deriving their name from the *Sequana*, now the Seine.

z The account here promised of Eponia’s fidelity, has not come down to us. She was discovered in a cavern with Sabinus, her husband, nine years afterwards, and with him conveyed to Rome.

a The *Rhemi* inhabited what is now called the diocese of *Rheims*.



Arretinum Clementem, domui Vespasiani per adfinitatem innexum et gratissimum Domitiano, Prætorianis præposuit, 'patrem ejus, sub Caio Cæsare, egregie functum ea cura,' dictitans: 'lætum militibus idem nomen, atque ipsum, 'quamquam Senatorii ordinis, ad utraque munia sufficere.' Adsumuntur e civitate clarissimus quisque, et alii per ambitionem. Simul Domitianus Mucianusque accingebantur, dispari animo: ille spe ac juventaproperus, hic moras nec-tens, quîs flagrantem retineret, ne ferocia ætatis et pravis impulsoribus, si exercitum invasisset, paci belloque male consuleret. Legiones victrices, sexta et octava, Vitellianarum unaetvicesima, e recens conscriptis secunda, Pen-ninis Cottianisque Alpibus, pars monte Graio, traducun-tur: quartadecima legio e Britannia, sexta ac decima ex Hispania accitæ. Igitur venientis exercitus fama, et suopte ingenio, ad mitiora inclinantes Galliarum civitates, in Re-mos convenere. Treverorum legatio illic opperiebatur, acerrimo instinctore belli Tullio Valentino. Is meditata oratione cuncta, magnis imperiis objectari solita, contume-liaque et invidiam in Populum Romanum effudit: turbidus miscendis seditionibus, et plerisque gratus vecordi facundia.

LXIX. At Julius Auspex, e primoribus Remorum, 'vim 'Romanam pacisque bona' dissertans, et 'sumi bellum 'etiam ab ignavis, strenuissimi cujusque periculo geri, jam- 'que super caput legiones,' sapientissimum quemque re-verentia fideque, juniores periculo ac metu, continuit. Et Valentini animum laudabant, consilium Auspiciis sequebantur. Constat, obstitisse 'Treveris Lingonibusque (*b*) apud Gallias, quod, Vindicis motu, cum Verginio steterant. Deterruit plerosque provinciarum æmulatio: 'quod bello caput? 'unde jus auspiciumque peteretur? quam, si cuncta pro- 'venissent, sedem Imperio legerent?' Nondum victoria, jam discordia erat: aliis fœdera, quibusdam opes viresque, aut vetustatem originis, per jurgia jactantibus. Tædio fu-turorum præsentia placuere. Scribuntur ad Treveros epistolæ, nomine Galliarum, 'ut abstinerent armis, inpe- 'netrabili venia et paratis deprecatoribus, si pœniteret.' Restitit idem Valentinus, obstruxitque civitatis suæ aures, haud perinde instruendo bello intentus, quam frequens con-cionibus.

LXX. Igitur non Treveri, neque Lingones ceteræve

rebellium civitates, pro magnitudine suscepti discriminis agere. Ne Duces quidem in unum consulere. Sed Civilis avia Belgarum (*c*) circumibat: dum Claudium Labeonem capere aut exturbare nititur. Classicus, segne plerumque otium trahens, velut parto imperio fruebatur. Ne Tutor quidem maturavit superiorem Germaniæ ripam et ardua Alpium præsiidiis claudere. Atque interim unaetvicesima legio Vindonissa, Sextilius Felix cum auxiliariis cohortibus per Rhætiam inrupere. Accessit ala Singularium, excita olim a Vitellio, deinde in partes Vespasiani transgressa. Præerat Julius Briganticus, sorore Civilis genitus, ut ferme acerrima proximorum odia sunt, invisus avunculo infensusque. Tutor Treverorum copias, recenti Vangionum, (*d*) Caracatium, Tribocorum delectu auctas, veterano pedite atque equite firmavit, corruptis spe, aut metu subactis legionariis: qui primo cohortem, præmissam a Sextilio Felice, interficiunt; mox ubi Duces exercitusque Romanus propinquabant, honesto transfugio rediere: secutis Tribocis Vangionibusque et Caracatibus. Tutor, Treveris comitantibus, vitato Magontiaco, Bingium concessit, fidens loco, quia pontem Navæ (*e*) fluminis abruperat, sed incursu cohortium, quas Sextilius ducebat, et reperto vado, proditus fususque. Ea clade perculsi Treveri, et plebes, omis-  
sis armis, per agros palatur: quidam Principum, ut primi posuisse bellum viderentur, in civitates, quæ societatem Romanam non exuerant, perfugerunt. Legiones a Novesium Bonnaque in Treveros, ut supra memoravimus, traductæ, se ipsæ in verba Vespasiani adigunt. Hæc Valentino absente gesta qui ubi adventabat furens, cunctaque rursus in turbas et exitium conversurus, legiones in Mediomatricos, sociam civitatem, abscessere. Valentinus ac Tutor in arma Treveros retrahunt: occisis Herennio ac Numisio, Legatis, quo minore spe veniæ cresceret vinculum sceleris.

LXXI. Hic belli status erat, cum Petilius Cerialis Magontiacum venit: ejus adventu erectæ spes. Ipse pugnae avidus et contemnendis, quam cavendis, hostibus melior, ferocia verborum militem incendebat: ubi primum congregari licuisset, nullam prælio moram factururus: delectus per

*c* The country about *Bruges*.

*d* *Vangiones*, now the diocese of *Worms*.

*e* *Nava*, a river of Gallia Belgica, which runs north-east into the Rhine; now the *Nahe*.

Galliam habitos in civitates remittit, ac nuntiare jubet, 'sufficere Imperio legiones: socii ad munia pacis redirent, securi, velut confecto bello, quod Romanæ manus excerpissent.' Auxit ea res Gallorum obsequium: nam, recepta juventute, facilius tributa toleravere, proniores ad officia, quod spernebantur. At Civilis et Classicus, ubi pulsum Tutorem, cæsos Treveros, cuncta hostibus prosera' acceperere, trepidi ac properantes, dum dispersas suorum copias conducunt, crebris interim nuntiis Valentinum monuere, 'ne summæ rei periculum faceret.' Eo rapidius Cerialis, missis in Mediomatricos, qui breviori itinere legiones in hostem verterent, contracto, quod erat militum Magontiaci, quantumque secum transvexerat, tertiis castris Rigodulum (*f*) venit; quem locum magna Treverorum manu Valentinus insederat, montibus aut Mosella amne septum: et addiderat fossas obicesque saxorum. Nec deterruere ea munimenta Romanum Ducem, quo minus peditem perrumpere juberet, equitum aciem in collem erigeret, spreto hoste; quem, temere conlectum, haud ita loco juvari, ut non plus suis in virtute foret. Paullum moræ in adscensu, dum missilia hostium prævehuntur: ut ventum in manus, deturbati, ruinæ modo, præcipitantur. Et pars equitum, æquioribus jugis circumvecta, nobilissimos Belgægarum, in quis Ducem Valentinum, cepit.

LXXII. Cerialis postero die coloniam Treverorum ingressus est, avido milite eruendæ civitatis: 'hanc esse Classici, hanc Tutoris, patriam: horum scelere clausas cæsasque legiones. Quid tantum Cremonam meruisse; quam e gremio Italiæ raptam, quia unius noctis moram victoribus adtulerit? Stare in confinio Germaniæ integram sedem, spoliis exercituum et Ducum cædibus ovantem. Redigeretur præda in fiscum: ipsis sufficere ignes et rebellis coloniæ ruinas, quibus tot castrorum excidia pensarentur.' Cerialis, a metu infamiæ, (*g*) si licentiæ sævitique inbuere militem crederetur, pressit iras: et paruere, posito civium bello, ad externa modestiores. Convertit inde animos accitarum e Mediomatricis legionum miserabilis aspectus. Stabant conscientia flagitii mæstæ, fixis in terram oculis. Nulla inter coeuntes exercitus con-

*f* Rigodulum, now Rigol, on the Moselle, near Treves.

*g* Cerialis a metu infamiæ. Lipsius supposes that the preposition should be omitted.



salutatio : neque solantibus hortantibusve responsa dabant, abditi per tentoria et lucem ipsam vitantes : nec perinde periculum aut metus, quam pudor ac dedecus, obstupefecerat : adtonitis etiam victoribus, quis vocem precesque adhibere non ausi, lacrimis ac silentio veniam poscebant : donec Cerialis mulceret animos, ‘fato acta’ dictitans, ‘quæ militum Ducumque discordia, vel fraude hostium, evenissent. Primum illum stipendiorum et sacramenti diem haberent : priorum facinorum neque Imperatorem neque se meminisse. Tunc recepti in eadem castra et edictum per manipulos, ne quis in certamine jurgiove seditionem aut cladem commilitoni objectaret.

LXXIII. Mox Treveros ac Lingones, ad concionem vocatos, ita adloquitur. ‘Neque ego unquam facundiam exerceui ; et Populi Romani virtutem armis adfirmavi. Sed, quia apud vos verba plurium valent, bonaque ac mala non sua natura, sed vocibus seditiosorum, æstimantur ; statui pauca disserere, quæ, profligato bello, utilius sit vobis audisse, quam nobis dixisse. Terram vestram, ceterorumque Gallorum, ingressi sunt Duces Imperatoresque Romani, nulla cupidine, sed majoribus vestris invocantibus, quos discordiæ usque ad exitium fatigabant : et acciti auxilio Germani sociis pariter atque hostibus servitutem inposuerant. Quot præliis adversus Cimbros Teutonosque, (*h*) quantis exercituum nostrorum laboribus, quoque eventu Germanica bella tractaverimus, satis clarum. Nec ideo Rhenum insedimus, ut Italiam tueremur ; sed ne quis alius Ariovistus (*i*) Regno Galliarum potiretur. An vos cariores Civili Batavisque et Transrhenanis gentibus creditis, quam majoribus eorum patres avique vestri fuerunt ? Eadem semper caussa Germanis transcendendi in Gallias, libido atque avaritia et mutandæ sedis amor, ut, relictis paludibus, et solitudinibus suis, fecundissimum hoc solum vosque ipsos possiderent. Ceterum libertas et speciosa nomina prætexuntur : nec quisquam alienum servitium et dominationem sibi concupivit, ut non eadem ista vocabula usurparet.

LXXIV. ‘Regna bellaque per Gallias semper fuere;

*h* See Velleius Paterculus, book ii. s. 8 and 12; Plutarch in *Mario*, and Mallet's Introduction to the Hist. of Denmark, vol. i. p. 13.

*i* For *Ariovistus*, the German chief, who pushed his conquests in Gaul, see Cæsar De Bell. Gall. Lib. i. s. 31.

‘donec in nostrum jus concederetis. Nos, quamquam totiens lacessiti, jure victoriæ id solum vobis addidimus, quo pacem tueremur. (j) Nam neque quies gentium sine armis, neque arma sine stipendiis, neque stipendia sine tributis haberi queunt. Cetera in communi sita sunt. Ipsi plerumque legionibus nostris præsidetis: ipsi has aliasque provincias regitis. Nihil separatum clausumve. Et laudatorum Principum usus ex æquo, quamvis procul agentibus: sævi proximis ingruunt: quomodo sterilitatem, aut nimios imbres et cetera naturæ mala, ita luxum vel avaritiam dominantium tolerate. Vitia erunt, donec homines: sed neque hæc continua, et meliorum interventu pensantur: nisi forte, Tutore et Classico regnantibus, moderatius imperium speratis: aut minoribus, quam nunc, tributis parabuntur exercitus, quibus Germani Britannique arceantur. Nam pulsus (quod Dii prohibeant) Romanis, quid aliud, quam bella omnium inter se gentium existent? Octingentorum annorum fortuna disciplinaque compages hæc coaluit, quæ convelli, sine exitio convellentium, non potest. Sed vobis maximum discrimen, penes quos aurum et opes, præcipuæ bellorum caussæ. Proinde pacem et urbem, quam victi victoresque eodem jure obtinemus, amate, colite. Moneant vos utriusque fortunæ documenta, ne contumaciam cum perniciæ, quam obsequium cum securitate, malitis.’ Tali oratione graviora metuentes composuit erexitque.

LXXV. Tenebantur victore exercitu Treveri, cum Civilis et Classicus misere epistolas ad Cerialem, quarum hæc sententia fuit. ‘Vespasianum, quamquam nuntios occularent, excessisse vita. Urbem atque Italiam interno bello consumptam. Muciani ac Domitiani vana et sine viribus nomina. Si Cerialis imperium Galliarum velit, ipsos finibus civitatum suarum contentos; si prælium malit, ne id quidem abnuere.’ Ad ea Cerialis Civili et Classico nihil: eum, qui adtulerat ipsas epistolas, ad Domitianum misit. Hostes, divisis copiis, advenere undique. Plerique culpabant Cerialem, passum jungi, quos discretos interciderere licuisset. Romanus exercitus castra fossa valloque circumdedit, quibus temere antea intutis consederat. Apud Germanos diversis sententiis certabatur.

j No tribute was required from the Gauls, but what was absolutely necessary for the support of government.

LXXVI. Civilis, ‘opperiendas Transrhenanorum gentes, quarum terrore fractæ Populi Romani vires obtererentur. Gallos quid aliud, quam prædam victoribus? et tamen, quod roboris sit, Belgas, secum palam aut voto stare.’ Tutor, ‘cunctatione crescere rem Romanam,’ adfirmabat, ‘coeuntibus undique exercitibus. Transvectam e Britannia legionem: accitas ex Hispania: adventare ex Italia: nec subitum militem, sed veterem expertumque belli. Nam Germanos, qui ab ipsis sperentur, non juberi, non regi, sed cuncta ex libidine agere: pecuniamque ac dona quâs solis corrumpantur, majora apud Romanos, et neminem adeo in arma pronum, ut non idem pretium quietis, quam periculi, malit: quod si statim congrediantur, nullas esse Ceriali, nisi ex reliquiis Germanici exercitus, legiones, fœderibus Galliarum obstrictas. Idque ipsum, quod inconditam nuper Valentini manum contra spem suam fuderint, alimentum illis Ducique temeritatis. Ausuros rursus venturosque in manus, non imperiti adolescentuli, verba et conciones, quam ferrum et arma, meditantis, sed Civilis et Classici: quos ubi adspexerint, redituram in animos formidinem, fugam famemque ac totiens captis præcariam vitam, neque Treveros aut Lingonas benevolentia contineri, (*k*) resumpturos arma, ubi metus abscesserit.’ Diremit consiliorum diversitatem, adprobata Tutoris sententia, Classicus: statimque exequantur.

LXXVII. Media acies Ubiis Lingonibusque data: dextro cornu cohortes Batavorum: sinistro Bructeri Tencterique: pars montibus, alii, viam inter Mosellamque flumen, tam improvisi adsilvere, ut in cubiculo ac lectulo Cerialis (neque enim noctem in castris egerat) pugnari simul vincique suos audierit, increpans pavorem nuntiantium, donec universa clades in oculis fuit. Perrupta legionum castra, fusi equites: medius Mosellæ pons, qui ulteriora coloniæ adnectit, ab hostibus insessus. Cerialis, turbidis rebus intrepidus et fugientes manu retrahens, intecto corpore promptus inter tela, felici temeritate et fortissimi cujusque adcursum, reciperat pontem electa manu firmavit. Mox in castra reversus, palantes captarum apud Novesium Bonnamque legionum manipulos et rarum apud signa militem ac prope cir-

*k* The *Treveri* and *Lingones* had been persuaded by Cerealis to lay down their arms.



cum ventas aquilas videt. Incensus ira, 'non Flaccum' inquit, 'non Voculam deseritis. Nulla hic proditio : neque aliud excusandum habeo, quam quod vos, Gallici fœderis oblitos, redisse in memoriam Romani sacramenti, temere credidi. Adnumerabor Numisiis et Herenniis : (*l*) ut omnes Legati vestri, aut militum manibus, aut hostium, ceciderint. Ite, nuntiate Vespasiano, vel, quod propius est, Civili et Classico, relictum a vobis in acie Ducem : venient legiones, quæ neque me inultum, neque vos inpunitos, patiantur.'

LXXVIII. Vera erant et a Tribunis Præfectisque eadem ingerebantur. Consistunt per cohortes et manipulos : neque enim poterat patescere acies, effuso hoste, et inpedientibus tentoriis sarcinisque, cum intra vallum pugnaretur. Tutor et Classicus et Civilis, suis quisque locis, pugnam ciebant : Gallos pro 'libertate,' Batavos 'pro gloria,' Germanos 'ad prædã' instigantes. Et cuncta pro hostibus erant : donec legio unaetvicesima, patientiore, quam ceteræ, spatio conglobata, sustinuit ruentes ; mox inpulit. Nec sine ope Divina, mutatis repente animis, terga victores vertere. Ipsi, territos se cohortium adspectu, ferebant, quæ primo inpetu disjectæ, summis rursus jugis congregabantur, ac speciem novi auxilii fecerant. Sed obstitit vincentibus pravum inter ipsos certamen, hoste omisso, spolia consecrandi. Cerialis, ut incuria prope rem adflixit, ita constantia restituit : secutusque fortunam, castra hostium eodem die capit excinditque. Nec in longum quies militi data.

LXXIX. Orabant auxilium Agrippinenses ; offerebantque uxorem ac sororem Civilis et filiam Classici, relictæ sibi pignora societatis. Atque interim dispersos in domibus Germanos trucidaverant. Unde metus et justæ preces invocantium, antequam hostes, reparatis viribus, ad spem vel ad ultionem accingerentur. Namque et Civilis illuc intenderat, non invalidus, flagrantissima cohortium suarum integra : quæ ex Chaucis Frisiisque composita, Tolbiaci, (*m*) in finibus Agrippinensium, agebat. Sed tristis nuntius avertit, 'deletam cohortem dolo Agrippinensium : ' qui largis epulis vinoque sopitos Germanos, clausis foribus, igne injecto, cremavere. Simul Cerialis proprio agmine subve-

*l* Hordeonius Flaccus and Vocula were murdered by their own soldiers. Numisius and Herennius died by the sword of the enemy.

*m* Tolbiacum, now Zulpich, in the diocese of Cologne.

nit. Circumsteterat Civilem et alius metus, ne quartadecima legio, adjuncta Britannica classe, adflicteret Batavos, qua Oceano ambiuntur. Sed legionem terrestri itinere (*n*) Fabius Priscus, Legatus, in Nervios Tungrosque duxit: eæque civitates in deditionem acceptæ: classem ultro Caninefates adgressi sunt: majorque pars navium depressa aut capta. Et Nerviorum multitudinem sponte commotam, ut pro Romanis bellum capesseret, iidem Caninefates fudere. Classicus quoque adversus equites, Novesium a Ceriali præmissos, secundum prælium fecit: quæ modica, sed crebra, damna famam victoriæ, nuper partæ, lacera-  
bant.

LXXX. Iisdem diebus Mucianus Vitellii filium (*o*) interfici jubet: mansuram discordiam obtendens, ni semina belli restinxisset. Neque Antonium Primum adsciri inter comites a Domitiano passus est: favore militum anxius, et superbia viri, æqualium quoque, adeo superiorum, intolerantibus. Profectus ad Vespasianum Antonius, ut non pro spe sua excipitur, ita neque averso Imperatoris animo. Trahebatur in diversa: hinc meritis Antonii, cujus ductu confectum haud dubie bellum erat, inde Muciani epistolis: simul ceteri, ut 'infestum tumidumque' insectabantur, adjunctis prioris vitæ criminibus: neque ipse deerat, adrogantia vocare offensas, nimius commemorandis, quæ meruisset. 'Alios,' ut 'inbelles, Cæcinam,' ut 'captivum ac 'dediticium,' (*p*) increpat. Unde paullatim levior viliorque haberi, manente tamen in speciem amicitia.

LXXXI. Per eos menses, quibus Vespasianus Alexandriæ statos æstivis flatibus dies, et certa maris opperiebatur, multa miracula evenere, quibus cæli favor et quædam in Vespasianum inclinatio Numinum ostenderetur. Ex plebe Alexandrina quidam, (*q*) oculorum tabe notus, genua ejus

*n* Brotier says, a military road may still be traced from *Gessoriacum*, now *Boulogne*, to *Atuaca*, the capital of the *Tungri*, now *Tongres*, in the bishopric of *Liege*.

*o* This was *Germanicus*. See Hist. ii. s. 59.

*p* *Cæcina* was kept in chains by his own soldiers.

*q* It is not clear that Tacitus placed any faith in this extraordinary story. He says, indeed, that the two miracles were attested by men who were eye-witnesses, and had no longer any interest to corrupt their testimony. But that very observation implies that there might have been, at the point of time, *mendacio pretium*: if so, men, who have been the authors of a lie, are not willing to convict themselves. It is moreover evident, that they might have been imposed upon.

advolvitur, ‘remedium cæcitat’ exposcens gemitu; monitu Serapidis Dei, (*r*) quem dedita superstitionibus gens ante alios colit: precabaturque Principem, ‘ut genas et ‘oculorum orbis dignaretur respergere oris excremento.’ Alius manum æger, (*s*) eodem Deo auctore, ‘ut pede ac ‘vestigio Cæsaris calcaretur,’ orabat. Vespasianus primo inridere, adspernari: atque, illis instantibus, modo famam vanitatis metuere, modo obsecratione ipsorum et vocibus adulantium in spem induci, postremo existimari a medicis jubet, an talis cæcitas ac debilitas ope humana superabiles forent. Medici varie disserere: ‘Huic non exesam vim ‘luminis et reperaturam, si pellerentur obstantia: illi elapsos ‘in pravum artus, si salubris vis adhibeatur, posse integrari. Id fortasse cordi Deis, et Divino ministerio Principem electum: denique patrati remedii gloriam penes ‘Cæsarem, inriti ludibrium penes miseros, fore.’ Igitur Vespasianus, cuncta fortunæ suæ patere ratus, nec quidquam ultra incredibile, læto ipse vultu, erecta, quæ adstabat, multitudine, jussa exsequitur. Statim conversa ad usum manus, ac cæco reluxit dies. Utrumque, qui interfuere, nunc quoque memorant, postquam nullum mendacio pretium.

LXXXII. Altior inde Vespasiano cupido adeundi sacram sedem, ut super rebus Imperii consuleret. ‘Arceri templo ‘cunctos’ jubet: atque ingressus intentusque Numini, respexit pone tergum e primoribus Ægyptiorum nomine ‘Basiliden;’ (*t*) quem procul Alexandria plurium dierum itinere et ægro corpore detineri haud ignorabat. Percunctatur Sacerdotes, ‘num illo die Basilides templum inisset?’ percunctatur obvios, ‘num in urbe visus sit?’ denique, missis equitibus, explorat, illo temporis momento octoginta

*r* In case of sickness, it was the custom of the common people, by the advice of the Egyptian priests, to abstain from food, and lie in the temple of Serapis, stretched on the skins of victims slain at the altar. Hence the distempered visions of crazed imaginations, which were considered as *light divine* and *prophecy*.

*s* Suetonius relates the two miracles; but what Tacitus calls a paralytic hand, he says was a paralytic *leg*. In Vesp. s. 7.

*t* This account of Vespasian and Basilides is related by Suetonius, in Vesp. s. 7. The name of Basilides, from the Greek word *Βασιλεύς*, signifying king, gave Vespasian stronger hopes of obtaining the sovereign power.



millibus passuum abfuisse. Tunc Divinam speciem et vim responsi ex nomine ' Basilidis ' interpretatus est.

LXXXIII. Origo Dei nondum nostris auctoribus celebrata; Ægyptiorum antistites sic memorant: ' Ptolemæo Regi, qui Macedonum primus Ægypti opes firmavit, cum Alexandriæ recens conditæ mœnia templaque et religiones adderet, oblatum, per quietem, decore eximio et majore quam humana specie juvenem, qui moneret, ' ut, fidissimis amicorum in Pontum missis, effigiem suam acciret: lætum id Regno, magnamque et inclitam sedem fore, quæ excepisset: ' simul visum eundem juvenem in cœlum igne plurimo adtolli. ' Ptolemæus, omine et miraculo excitus, Sacerdotibus Ægyptiorum, quibus mos talia intelligere, nocturnos visus aperit. Atque illis, Ponti et externorum parum gnaris, Timotheum, Atheniensem, e gente Eumolpidarum, (u) quem, ut antistitem cærimoniarum, Eleusine exciverat, ' quænam illa superstitio, quod Numen? ' interrogat. Timotheus, quæsitis, qui in Pontum meassent, cognoscit, urbem illic Sinopen, nec procul templum, vetere inter adcolas fama, Jovis Ditis. Namque et muliebrem effigiem adistere, quam plerique Proserpinam vocent. Sed Ptolemæus, ut sunt ingenia Regum, pronus ad formidinem, ubi securitas rediit, voluptatum quam religionum adpetens, negligere paullatim aliasque ad curas animum vertere: donec eadem species, terribilior jam et instantior, ' exitium ipsi Regnoque ' denuntiaret, ' ne jussa patrarentur. ' Tum legatos et dona Scydrothemidi, Regi, (is tunc Sinopensibus imperitabat) expediri jubet: præcipitque navigaturis, ' ut Pythium Apollinem adeant. ' Illis mare secundum: sors oraculi haud ambigua: ' irent, ' simulacrumque patris sui reveherent, sororis relinquerent. '

LXXXIV. Ut Sinopen (v) venere, munera, preces, mandata Regis sui Scydrothemidi adlegant. Qui versus animi, modo Numen pavescere, modo minis adversantis populi terreri: sæpe donis promissisque legatorum flectebatur. Atque interim triennio exacto, Ptolomæus non studium, non preces, omittere. Dignitatem legatorum, numerum navium, auri pondus augebat. Tum minax facies Scydrothemidi offertur, ' ne destinata Deo ultra moraretur. '

u The descendants of Eumolpus, called Eumolpidæ, were the priests of Ceres, who presided over the rites called, from the town of Eleusis, the *Eleusinian mysteries*.

v Sinope, a city in the territory of Pontus.

Cunctantem varia pernicies morbique et manifesta cœlestium ira graviorque in dies fatigabat. Advocata concione, 'jussa Numinis, suos Ptolemæique visus, ingruentia mala' exponit. Vulgus adversari Regem, invidere Ægypto, sibi metuere templumque circumsidere. Major hinc fama tradidit, 'Deum ipsum adpulsas litori navis sponte conscendisse.' Mirum inde dictu, tertio die, tantum maris emensi, Alexandriam adpelluntur. Templum pro magnitudine urbis exstructum loco, cui nomen Rhacotis; fuerat illic sacellum, Serapidi atque Isidi antiquitus sacratum. Hæc de origine et advectu Dei celeberrima. Nec sum ignarus, esse quosdam, qui 'Seleucia, urbe Syriæ, accitum, regnante Ptolemæo, quem tertia ætas tulit:' alii 'auctorem eundem Ptolemæum, sedem, ex qua transierit, 'Memphim' (*w*) perhibent, inclytam olim et veteris Ægypti columen. Deum ipsum multi 'Æsculapium, quod 'medeatur ægris corporibus:' quidam 'Osirin, antiquissimum illis gentibus Numen:' plerique 'Jovem, ut rerum omnium potentem;' plurimi 'Ditem patrem, insignibus, quæ in ipso manifesta,' aut per ambages conjectant.

LXXXV. At Domitianus Mucianusque, antequam Alpi-  
bus propinquarent, prosperos rerum in Treveris gestarum  
nuntios acceperere. Præcipua victoriæ fides Dux hostium  
Valentinus, (*x*) nequaquam abjecto animo, quos spiritus  
gessissit, vultu ferebat. Auditus ideo tantum, ut noscere-  
tur ingenium ejus, damnatusque, inter ipsum supplicium,  
exprobranti cuidam 'patriam ejus captam, accipere se so-  
'latium mortis,' respondit. Sed Mucianus, quod diu oc-  
cultaverat, ut recens exprompsit: 'quoniam benignitate  
'Deum fractæ vires hostium forent, parum decore Do mi-  
'tanium, confecto prope bello, alienæ gloriæ interventu-  
'rum. Si status Imperii aut salus Galliarum in discrimine  
'verteretur, debuisse Cæsarem in acie stare: Caninefates  
'Batavosque minoribus Ducibus delegandos. Ipse Lug-  
'duni vim fortunamque Principatus e proximo ostentaret,  
'nec parvis periculis inmixtus, et majoribus non defu-  
'turus.'

LXXXVI. Intelligebantur artes: sed pars obsequii in  
eo, ne deprehenderentur: ita Lugdunum ventum. Unde  
creditur Domitianus occultis ad Cerialem nuntiis fidem ejus

*w* Memphis, a city of Egypt, famous for its pyramids.

*x* See this book, s. 71.

tentavisse, 'an præsentī sibi exercitum Imperiumque traditurus foret : ' qua cogitatione bellum adversus patrem, agitaverit, an opes viresque adversus fratrem, in incerto fuit : nam Cerialis salubri temperamento elusit, ut vana pueriliter cupientem. Domitianus, sp̄rni a senioribus juventam suam cernens, modica quoque et usurpata antea munia Imperii omittebat : simplicitatis ac modestiæ imagine, in altitudinem conditus, studiumque litterarum et amorem carminum simulans, quo velaret animum et fratris æmulationi subduceretur, cujus disparem mitioremque naturam contra interpretabatur.



THE  
HISTORY  
OF  
TACITUS.  
BOOK V.

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BOOK V.

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These transactions past in the

Year of Rome.

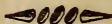
823.

Of Christ.

70.

Consuls.

Flavius Vespasianus, }  
Titus his son. }



**E**JUSDEMANNI principio Cæsar Titus, perdomandæ Judææ delectus a patre, et prælati utriusque rebus militia clarus, (a) majore tum vi famaue agebat, certantibus provinciarum et exercituum studiis. Atque ipse, ut super fortunam crederetur, decorum se promptumque in armis ostendebat, comitate et adloquiis officia provocans : ac plerumque in opere, in agmine, gregario militi mixtus, incorrupto Ducis honore. Tres eum in Judæa legiones, quinta, et decima et quintadecima, (b) vetus Vespasiani miles, exceperunt. Addidit e Syria duodecimam et adductos Alexandria duoetvicesimanos tertianosque. Comitabantur viginti sociæ cohortes, octo equitum alæ : simul Agrippa Sohemusque, Reges, et auxilia Regis Antiochi, validaque et, solito inter adcolas odio infensa Judæis Arabum manus : multi, quos urbe atque Italia sua quemque spes acciverat occupandi Principem adhuc vacuum. His cum copiis fines hostium ingressus, composito agmine, cuncta explorans, paratusque decernere, haud procul Hierosolymis castra facit.

II. Sed, quia famosæ urbis supremum diem tradituri sumus, congruens videtur, primordia ejus aperire. (c) ‘Ju-

a Titus had served with his father in Britain, Germany and Judæa.

b See an account of the army under Titus ; Josephus, Bell. Jud. b. v. c. 6.

c This account of the origin of the Jewish nation has been the subject of much elaborate criticism. The commentators are not a little surprised that a historian, of an enlarged and comprehensive

‘dæos, Creta insula profugos, novissima Libyæ insedissee,’ memorant, ‘qua tempestate Saturnus, vi Jovis pulsus, cesserit regnis :’ (argumentum e nomine petitur : ‘inclytum in Creta Idan montem, adcolas Idæos ; aucto in barbarum cognomento, Judæos vocitari :’) quidam, ‘regnante Iside, exundantem per Ægyptum multitudinem, ducibus Hierosolymo ac Juda, proximas in terras exoneratam :’ plerique, ‘Æthiopum prolem, quos Rege Cepheo metus atque odium mutare sedes perpulerit.’ Sunt, qui tradant, ‘Assyrios (d) convenas, indigum agrorum populum, parte Ægypti potitos, mox proprias urbes Hebræasque terras et propiora Syriæ coluisse rura.’ Alii, ‘Judæorum initia, Solymos, carminibus Homeri celebratam gentem, conditam urbem Hierosolyma nomine suo fecisse.

III. Plurimi auctores consentiunt, ‘orta per Ægyptum tabe, (e) quæ corpora fœdaret, Regem Bocchorim, adito, Hammonis oraculo, remedium petentem, purgare Regnum et id genus hominum, ut invisum Deis, alias in terras avehere jussum. Sic conquisitum conlectumque vulgus, postquam vastis locis relictum sit, ceteris per lacrymas torpentibus, Moſen, unum exsulum, monuisse, ne quam Deorum hominumve opem expectarent, utrinque deserti, sed sibi, ut Duci cælesti, crederent, primo cujus auxilio præſentes miseras pepulissent.’ Adsensere atque omnium ignari fortuitum iter incipiunt. Sed nihil æque, quam ino-

mind, should not have thought it worth his while to gain the most exact information concerning a people, whose final ruin he was to relate. The Jews, it is true, were beheld by the Romans with contempt and detestation. Tacitus charges the nation with a fixed and sullen hatred of all mankind ; and it is therefore probable, that, with regard to such a race, he did not think it necessary to enter into a minute inquiry, though the materials were within his reach.

d We have in this passage, something that borders on the truth. Abraham went forth from the Ur of the Chaldees ; Genesis, xi. v. 31. He went into Egypt to sojourn there, Gen. xii. v. 10. The history of his posterity in Egypt, and the journey into Syria, and the land of Canaan, clearly prove the descent of the Jews from Abraham, and throw a light upon what our author says of their Assyrian origin. Tacitus, however, not having investigated the fact, gives the various opinions that were floating in the world, and leaves the truth to rest on better authority.

e Justin mentions this epidemic distemper, and calls it *scabiem et vitiliginem* ; that is, the leprosy. That the passage through the Red Sea, should be omitted by Tacitus, cannot be a matter of wonder, since it is related even by Josephus, in a manner that adds no authenticity to the miracle.



pia aquæ fatigabat. Jamque haud procul exitio, totis campis procubuerant : cum grex asinorum agrestium, (*f*) e pastu in rupem, nemore opacam, concessit. Secutus Moses, conjectura herbidi soli, largas aquarum venas aperit. Id levamen : et continuum sex dierum iter emensi, septimo, pulsus cultoribus, obtinere terras, in quibus urbs et templum dicata.

IV. Moses, quo sibi in posterum gentem firmaret, novos ritus (*g*) contrariosque ceteris mortalibus indidit. Profana illic omnia, quæ apud nos sacra : (*h*) rursum concessa apud illos, quæ nobis incesta. Effigiem animalis, (*i*) quo monstrante errorem sitimque depulerant, penetrati sacravere : cæso ariete, velut in contumeliam Hammonis. Bos quoque inmolatur, quem Ægyptii Apin colunt. Sue abstinent, memoria cladis, qua ipsos scabies quondam turpaverat, cui id animal obnoxium. Longam olim famem crebris adhuc jejuniis fatentur : et raptarum frugum argumentum panis Judaicus, nullo fermento, retinet. 'Septimo die (*j*) otium 'placuisse,' ferunt : 'quia is finem laborum tulerit : dein, 'blandiente inertia, septimum quoque annum ignaviæ datum.' Alii, 'honorem eum Saturno haberi : seu principia 'religionis tradentibus Idæis, quos eum Saturno pulsos et

*f* This discovery of springs in a shady grove, calls to mind what Moses says : And they came to Elim where were twelve wells of water, and threescore and ten palm trees, Ex. xv. v. 27. Where Tacitus found the romantic incident of the troop of wild asses does not appear. The story is amusing, and probably was adopted in the narrative, to prepare the reader for the consecration of that animal, as mentioned in the following section.

*g* Moses introduced a system of religion very different from the polytheism and superstitious ceremonies of the Romans. Tacitus speaks with marked disapprobation ; but the errors of prejudice have been long since refuted.

*h* Whatever was sacred at Rome, was, beyond all doubt, profane at Jerusalem. The Jews worshipped one God, and, by consequence, the pagan mythology fell into contempt.

*i* The veneration here said to have been paid in the temple to the image of an ass, is refuted by Tacitus himself, who says in the following section, that the Jews suffered no consecrated statues or images to be erected either in their cities or temples. He tells us afterwards, that when Pompey conquered Jerusalem, and made his entry into the temple, he found neither statues nor images, but a void and empty tabernacle. See this book, s. 9.

*j* The seventh day was a day of rest, but not for the reason given by Tacitus. See Exodus, xx. v. 10 and 11. The seventh year was also a year of rest, not for the sake of sluggish inactivity, but in consequence of an express command. See Lev. xxv. v. 3 and 4.

conditore gentis accepimus, seu quod e septem sideribus, quibus mortales reguntur, altissimo orbe et præcipua potentia, stella Saturni feratur: ac pleraque cælestium vim suam et cursum septimos per numeros conficiant. (*k*)

V. Hi ritus, quoquo modo inducti, antiquitate defenduntur: cetera instituta sinistra fœda pravitate valuere. (*l*) Nam pessimus quisque, spretis religionibus patriis, tributa et stipes illuc gerebant: (*m*) unde auctæ Judæorum res. Et, quia apud ipsos fides obstinata, misericordia in promptu, sed adversus omnes alios hostile odium, separati epulis, discreti cubilibus, projectissima ad libidinem gens, alienarum concubitu abstinent; inter se nihil illicitum; circumcidere genitalia instituere, ut diversitate noscantur. Transgressi in morem eorum idem usurpant: nec quidquam prius inbuuntur, quam contemnere Deos, exuere patriam, parentes, liberos, fratres, vilia habere. Augendæ tamen multitudini consulitur. Nam et necare quemquam ex agnatis, nefas: (*n*) animasque prælio aut suppliciis peremptorum æternas putant. Hinc generandi amor et moriendi contemptus. Corpora condere, quam cremare, e more Ægyptio: eademque cura, et de infernis persuasio: (*o*) cælestium contra. Ægyptii pleraque animalia effigiesque compositas veneran-

*k* Tacitus says the life of man is governed by the revolutions of the seven planets. That doctrine was not only taught by the Egyptian and Pythagorean philosophy, but has been adopted by modern astrologers.

*l* The force of national prejudice was never more strongly displayed. Tacitus thought nothing orthodox, but the creed of his own country; and in his eyes, the depravity of the Jews consisted in preferring the worship of one God to that of Jupiter, Venus, Mercury and the rest of the monstrous deities with which superstition had peopled heaven.

*m* The Jews were not entirely confined within the limits of Palestine; they went forth in quest of gain, and settled in every quarter where trade and commerce flourished. Wherever they fixed themselves, they retained their own principles, and despised the established religion of the place. Not being able to attend the tabernacle with their offerings, they collected among themselves annual tribute, and sent it to the temple, at Jerusalem. Hence the immense quantities of gold and silver that fell into the hands of the Romans; and hence the Jews were said to love one another, and hate the rest of mankind.

*n* The Romans had the power of life and death over their own children, and were unwilling to be incumbered with a numerous issue.

*o* The Egyptians believed in a future state of rewards and punishments. See Diodorus Siculus, book i. s. 51.



tur : Judæi mente sola unumque Numen intelligunt. ‘ Pro-  
 ‘ fanos, qui Deum imagines mortalibus materiis in species  
 ‘ hominum effingant : summum illud et æternum, neque  
 ‘ mutabile, neque interiturum.’ (*p*) Igitur nulla simulacra  
 urbibus suis, nedum templis, sinunt. Non Regibus hæc  
 adulatio, non Cæsaribus honor. Sed, quia Sacerdotes eorum  
 tibia tympanisque concinebant, hedera vinciebantur, vitis-  
 que aurea templo reperta, ‘ Liberum Patrem coli, domito-  
 ‘ rem Orientis,’ quidam arbitrati sunt, nequaquam congru-  
 entibus institutis : quippe Liber festos lætosque ritus posuit ;  
 Judæorum mos absurdus sordidusque. (*q*)

VI. Terra finesque, qua ad Orientem vergunt, Arabia (*r*)  
 terminantur : a meridie Ægyptus objacet ; ab occasu Phœ-  
 nices et mare : septentrionem a latere Syriae longe prospec-  
 tant. Corpora hominum salubria et ferentia laborum : rari  
 imbres, uber solum : fruges nostrum ad morem : præterque  
 eas balsamum et palmæ. Palmetis proceritas et decor.  
 Balsamum modica arbor : ut quisque ramus intumuit, si vim  
 ferri adhibeas, pavent venæ ; fragmine lapidis aut testa  
 aperiuntur : humor in usu medentium est. Præcipuum  
 montium Libanum erigit, mirum dictu, tantos inter ardores  
 opacum fidumque nivibus. Idem amnem Jordanem alit fun-  
 ditque. Nec Jordanes pelago accipitur : sed unum atque  
 alterum lacum (*s*) integer perfluit, tertio retinetur. Lacus  
 inmenso ambitu, specie maris, sapore corruptior, gravitate  
 odoris adcolis pestifer, neque vento inpellitur, neque pisces

*p* We have here a sublime idea of one great supreme and govern-  
 ing mind ; of one omnipotent, eternal God. It is astonishing that  
 Tacitus did not pause, in deep reflection, upon what he could so well  
 describe.

*q* The Roman *dies festus* signified a day consecrated to joy, and  
 song, and dance, and public spectacles. It was otherwise with the  
 Jews. At stated periods they commemorated public misfortunes ;  
 and grief, and fasting, sackcloth and ashes, distinguished their religious  
 ceremonies, wholly different from the rites of Bacchus, and therefore  
 called absurd and sordid. Tacitus, it must be said, has given an  
 unfavourable picture of the Jews.

*r* Arabia extended from Egypt to Chaldæa, and from the Euphra-  
 tes to the Arabian gulf. It is divided into three parts, viz. *Arabia*  
*Felix*, *Petræa* and *Deserta*.

*s* The first of the lakes is Samachonites, mentioned by Josephus ;  
 the second Cennereth, by Joshua ; the third Asphaltus, called by  
 Milton the Asphaltic Pool, by others *Mare Mortuum*, from the im-  
 mobility of its waters. It is said by Josephus to be 70 miles in length,  
 and in some places 12 or 13 in breadth.



aut suetas aquis volucres patitur. (*t*) Incertæ undæ superjacta, ut solido, ferunt: periti inperitique nandi perinde adtolluntur. Certo anni bitumen egerit: cujus legendi usum, ut ceteras artes, experientia docuit. Ater suapte natura liquor, et sparso aceto concretus, innatat: hunc manu captum, quibus ea cura, in summa navis trahunt. Inde, nullo juvante, influit, oneratque, donec abscindas: nec abscindere ære ferrove possis: fugit cruorem vestemque infectam sanguine, quo feminæ per menses exsolvuntur: sic veteres auctores. Sed gnari locorum tradunt, undantes bitumine moles pelli, manuque trahi ad litus: mox, ubi vapore terræ, vi solis, inaruerint, securibus cuneisque, ut trabes aut saxa, discindi.

VII. Haud procul inde campi, quos ferunt olim uberes, magnisque urbibus habitatos, fulminum jactu arsisse; (*u*) et manere vestigia, terramque ipsam, specie torridam, vim frugiferam perdidisse. Nam cuncta sponte edita, aut manu sata, sive herbæ tenues aut flores, ut solitam in speciem adolevere, atra et inania velut in cinerem vanescunt. Ego, sicut inclitas quondam urbes igne cœlesti flagrasse concesserim, ita halitu lacus infici terram, conrumpi superfusum spiritum, eoque fœtus segetum et autumnii putrescere reor, solo cœloque juxta gravi. Et Belus (*v*) amnis Judaico mari inlabitur: circa cujus os conlectæ arenæ, admixto nitro, in vitrum excoquantur, modicum id litus et egerentibus inexthaustum.

VIII. Magna pars Judææ vicis dispergitur: habent et oppida. Hierosolyma genti caput. Illic immensæ opulen-

*t* All travellers agree as to the noxious taste and smell of the Asphaltic lake. Pococke says, that the water impregnated with salt and sulphur weighs much more than fresh water, and consequently lets nothing sink.

It is related by Josephus, that Vespasian, in order to make an experiment, ordered some prisoners, with their hands tied behind their backs, to be thrown into the lake; when they all emerged and floated on the surface. See Josephus, Bell. Jud. lib. iv. ver. 8.

*u* The cities were Sodom, Gomorrah, Admah and Zeboiim. Genesis, xiv. verse 2. The Lord rained upon Sodom and Gomorrah brimstone and fire, and he overthrew those cities and all the plain. Gen. xix. v. 24 and 25.

*v* Belus, a river of Galilee, running from the foot of mount Carmel, and emptying itself into the Mediterranean. Strabo says that the whole coast has a sand fit for glass, but that of the river Belus is the best. Here the art of making glass was first discovered. See Pliny, book v. s. 19.

tiaē templum, et primis munimentis urbs, dein Regia : templum intimis clausum : ad fores tantum Judæo aditus : limine, præter Sacerdotes, arcebantur. Dum Assyrios penes Medosque et Persas Oriens fuit, despectissima pars servientium : postquam Macedones præpotuere, Rex Antiochus, demere superstitionem et mores Græcorum dare adnixus, quo minus teterrimam gentem in melius mutaret, Parthorum bello prohibitus est : nam ea tempestate Arsaces desciverat. Tum Judæi, Macedonibus invalidis, Parthis nondum adultis (et Romani procul erant) sibi ipsi Reges inposuere : (*w*) qui mobilitate vulgi expulsi, resumpta per arma dominatione, fugas civium, urbium eversiones, fratrum, conjugum, parentum neces aliaque solita Regibus ausi, superstitionem fovebant : quia honor Sacerdotii, firmamentum potentiaē, adsumebatur.

IX. Romanorum primus Cn. Pompeius Judæos domuit : (*x*) templumque jure victoriaē ingressus est. Inde vulgatum, ‘ nulla intus Deum effigie vacuam (*y*) sedem et inania arcana. Muri Hierosolymorum diruti, delubrum mansit. Mox, civili inter nos bello, postquam in ditionem M. Antonii provinciæ cesserant, Rex Parthorum Pacorus Judæa potitus, interfectusque a P. Ventidio, et Parthi trans Euphraten redacti : Judæos C. Sosius subegit. Regnum, ab Antonio Herodi datum, victor Augustus auxit. Post mortem Herodis, nihil exspectato Cæsare, Simon quidam (*z*)

*w* Justin informs us, that the power of Demetrius I. and his successors, kings of Syria, not being supported with vigor, the Jews took their opportunity to shake off a foreign yoke and assert their liberty. See Justin, lib. xxxvi. ver. 1 and 3. In confirmation of this, we read in Maccabees a treaty between Demetrius and Simon the high priest, A. U. C. 611; before Christ 143: and thus *the yoke of the heathen was taken away from Israel, and the people of Israel began to write in their instruments and contracts, In the first year of Simon the high priest, the governor and leader of the Jews.* 1 Maccabees, xiii. ver. 41 and 42.

*x* Pompey made himself master of Jerusalem, A. U. C. 691. He entered the temple and the Holy of Holies; but according to Josephus, Jewish Antiquities, xiv. ver. 4. abstained from plunder, content with imposing an annual tribute. See Florus, lib. iii. cap. 5. and Cicero, *pro Flacco*, s. 28.

*y* This passage affords another proof that the effigy of an ass was not consecrated in the temple, as mentioned by Tacitus. This book, sec. 4.

*z* The Simon mentioned in this place must not be confounded with the chief of that name, who was taken prisoner at the siege of Jerusalem, and afterwards executed at Rome. See App. to Hist. v. s. 20.

Regium nomen invaserat. Is a Quinctilio Varo, obtinente Syriam, punitus : et gentem coercitam liberi Herodis tripartito rexere. Sub Tiberio quies : dein jussi a C. Cæsare, 'effigiem (a) ejus in templo locare,' arma potius sumere : quem motum Cæsaris mors diremit. Claudius, defunctis Regibus aut ad modicum redactis, Judæam provinciam Equitibus Romanis aut libertis permisit : e quibus Antonius Felix, per omnem sævitiam ac libidinem, jus Regium servili ingenio exercuit, Drusilla, Cleopatraræ et Antonii nepte, in matrimonium accepta : ut ejusdem Antonii Felix progener, Claudius nepos esset.

X. Duravit tamen patientia Judæis usque ad Gessium Florum, Procuratorem. Sub eo bellum ortum : (b) et comprimere cœptantem Cestium Gallum, (c) Syriæ Legatum, varia prælia ac sæpius adversa exceperet. Qui ubi fato, aut tædio occidit, missu Neronis Vespasianus fortuna famaque et egregiis ministris, intra duas æstates, cuncta camporum omnesque, præter Hierosolyma, urbes, victore exercitu tenebat. (d) Proximus annus civili bello intentus, quantum ad Judæos, per otium transiit. Pace per Italiam parta, et externæ curæ rediere. Augebat iras, quod soli Judæi non cessissent. Simul manere apud exercitus Titum, ad omnes Principatus novi eventus casusve utilius videbatur. Igitur castris, uti diximus, ante mœnia Hierosolymorum positus, instructas legiones ostentavit.

XI. Judæi sub ipsos muros struxere aciem, rebus secundis longius ausuri, et, si pellerentur, parato perfugio. Missus in eos eques cum expeditis cohortibus ambigue certavit. Mox cessere hostes, et sequentibus diebus crebra pro portis prælia serebant : donec adsiduis damnis intra mœnia pellerentur. Romani ad oppugnandum versi : neque enim dignum videbatur, famem hostium opperiri : poscebantque pericula, pars virtute, multi ferocia et cupidine præmiorum. Ipsi Tito Roma et opes voluptatesque ante oculos : ac, ni statim Hierosolyma conciderent, morari videbantur. Sed

a Caligula had the frantic ambition to have his statue placed in the temple at Jerusalem ; but the Jews had recourse to arms : another proof of their resolution not to suffer the tabernacle to be profaned by images of any kind.

b The Jewish war, occasioned by the misconduct of Florus, began A. U. C. 818 See App to Hist. v. s. 4.

c For more of Cestius Gallus, see App. to Hist. v. s. 4.

d Vespasian's rapid success against the Jews was A. U. C. 820 and 821.



urbem, arduam situ, opera molesque firmaverant, quis vel plana satis munirentur. Nam duos colles, (*e*) immensum editos, claudebant muri, per artem obliqui, aut introrsus sinuati : ut latera oppugnantium ad ictus patescerent. Extrema rupis abrupta : et turres, ubi mons juvisset, in sexaginta pedes, inter devexa, in centenos vicanosque adtollabantur : mira specie, ac procul intuentibus pares. Alia intus mœnia, Regiæ circumjecta : conspicuoque fastigio turris ‘Antonia,’ in honorem M. Antonii ab Herode adpellata.

XII. Templum (*f*) in modum arcis propriique muri, labore et opere ante alios : ipsæ porticus, quis templum ambiebatur, egregium propugnaculum. Fons perennis aquæ, cavati sub terra montes : et piscinæ cisternæque servandis imbribus : præviderant conditores, ex diversitate morum, crebra bella : inde cuncta quamvis adversus longum obsidium : et a Pompeio expugnatis metus atque usus pleraque monstravere. Atque, per avaritiam Claudianorum temporum empto jure muniendi, struxere muros (*g*) in pace, tamquam ad bellum : magna concluvie et ceterarum urbium clade aucti : nam pervicacissimus quisque illuc perfugerat, eoque seditiosius agebant. Tres Duces, totidem exercitus. Extrema et latissima mœnium Simon, quem et Bargioram vocabant, mediam urbem Joannes, templum Eleazarus, firmaverat. Multitudine et armis Joannes ac Simon, Eleazarus loco, pollebat. Sed prælia, (*h*) dolus, incendia inter ipsos, et magna vis frumenti ambusta. Mox Joannes, missis per speciem sacrificandi, qui Eleazarum manumque ejus obtruncarent, templo potitur : ita in duas factiones civitas discessit, donec, propinquantibus Romanis, bellum externum concordiam pareret.

*e Duos colles.* These were, mount Sion to the south, and Acra to the north. The former, being the loftiest, was called the upper, and Acra the lower city. The walls of each were washed on the outside by a broad and rapid stream that rushed like a torrent from west to east, through the valleys of Hinnom and Cedron, to the foot of the mount of Olives. See App. s. 5.

*f* For a description of the temple, see Josephus, Bell. Jud. v. cap. 5; and App. to this book, s. 5.

*g* Pompey had destroyed the outward walls of Jerusalem, as mentioned in this book, s. 9. The fortifications, we find, were made stronger than ever. See Josephus, Bell. Jud. v. cap. 4.

*h* The partizans of the various factions that distracted the city of Jerusalem, attacked one another with a degree of animosity, more inveterate than they ever showed in battle with the Romans.

XIII. Evenerant prodigia, quæ neque hostiis, neque votis piare (*i*) fas habet gens superstitioni obnoxia, religionibus adversa. Visæ per cælum concurrere acies, rutilantia arma et subito nubium igne conlucere templum. Expassæ repente delubri fores et audita major humana vox, 'Excedere Deos : ' simul ingens motus excedentium. Quæ pauci in metum trahebant : pluribus persuasio inerat, antiquis Sacerdotum litteris contineri, eo ipso tempore fore, ut valesceret Oriens profectique Judæa rerum potirentur : quæ ambages Vespasianum ac Titum prædixerant. Sed vulgus, more humanæ cupidinis, sibi tantam factorum magnitudinem interpretati, ne adversis quidem ad vera mutabantur. (*j*) Multitudinem obsessorum, omnis ætatis, virile ac muliebre secus, sexcenta millia (*k*) fuisse accepimus. Arma cunctis, qui ferre possent : et plures, quam pro numero, audebant. Obstinatio viris feminisque par : ac, si transferre sedes cogerentur, major vitæ metus, quam mortis. Hanc adversus urbem gentemque Cæsar Titus, quando impetus et subita belli locus abnueret, aggeribus vineisque certare statuit. Dividuntur legionibus munia, et quies præliorum fuit : donec cuncta expugnandis urbibus reperta apud veteres, aut novis ingeniis, struerentur.

XIV. At Civilis, post malam in Treveris pugnam, reparato per Germaniam exercitu, apud Vetera castra (*l*) conседit : tutus loco, et ut memoria prosperarum illic rerum augescerent barbarorum animi. Secutus est eodem Cæria-

*i* When the Romans heard of a monstrous birth, or were told that an ox had spoken, their priests employed superstitious rites and sacrifices to avert the impending danger. The Jews were not so easily alarmed ; but however inclined they formerly had been, to propitiate Heaven by prayer and sacrifice, their final doom was drawing nigh, as foretold by Christ. Matthew, xxiv. Mark, xiii. Luke, xxi.

*j* Tacitus condemns the Jews for not rightly understanding a prophecy, which he himself has misapplied. But it is evident that it could not relate to the short reign of Vespasian and his two sons. The Christian religion was at that time, striking root in Judæa, and we know that it has been since greatly extended. We cannot, however, wonder at the misconception of Tacitus, when it is considered that Josephus, willing, perhaps, to pay his court to the imperial family, did not hesitate to say that the prophecy related to Vespasian. Bell. Jud. vi. cap. s.

*k* Josephus says, that eleven hundred thousand perished during the siege. Bell. Jud. vi. cap. 9.

*l* For *Vetera Castra*, see Hist. iv. s. 18. note (*h*.) Civilis had made himself master of the place. Hist. iv. s. 60.

lis, duplicatis copiis, adventu secundæ et sextæ et quartæ-decimæ legionum. Cohortesque et alæ, jampridem accitæ, post victoriam properaverant. Neuter Ducum cunctator. Sed arcebat latitudo camporum, suopte ingenio humentium. Addiderat Civilis obliquam in Rhenum molem, cujus objectu revolutus amnis adjacentibus superfundetur. Ea loci forma, incertis vadis subdola et nobis adversa: quippe miles Romanus armis gravis et nandi pavidus; Germanos, fluminibus suetos, levitas armorum et proceritas corporum adtollit.

XV. Igitur lacescentibus Batavis, ferocissimo cuique nostrorum cœptum certamen: deinde orta trepidatio, cum præaltis paludibus arma, equi, haurirentur. Germani notis vadis persultabant, omissa plerumque fronte, latera ac terga circumvenientes: neque, ut in pedestri acie, cominus certabatur; sed, tamquam navali pugna, vagi inter undas, aut, si quid stabile occurrebat, totis illic corporibus niten-tes, vulnerati cum integris, periti nandi cum ignaris in mutuum perniciem implicabantur: minor tamen, quam pro tumultu, cædes: quia, non ausi egredi paludem Germani, in castra rediere. Ejus prælii eventus utrumque Ducem, diversis animi motibus, ad maturandum summæ rei discrimen erexit. Civilis instare fortunæ; Cerialis abolere ignominiam. Germani prosperis feroces; Romanos pudor excitaverat: nox apud barbaros cantu aut clamore, nostris per iram et minas, acta.

XVI. Postera luce, Cerialis equite et auxiliariis cohortibus frontem explet: in secunda acie legiones locatæ: Dux sibi delectos retinuerat ad improvisa. Civilis haud porrecto agmine, sed cuneis, adstitit. Batavi Gugernique in dextro; læva ac propria fluminis Transrhenani tenuere. Exhortatio Ducum, non more concionis apud universos, sed ut quosque suorum advehebantur. Cerialis ‘veterem  
‘Romani nominis gloriam, antiquas recentesque victorias:  
‘ut perfidum, ignavum, victum hostem, in æternum exci-  
‘derent: ultione magis, quam prælio, opus esse. Paucio-  
‘res nuper cum pluribus certasse: attamen fusos Germa-  
‘nos quod roboris fuerit. Superesse, qui fugam animis,  
‘qui vulnera tergo, ferant.’ Proprios inde stimulos legi-  
onibus admovebat, ‘domitores Britannix quartadecimanos’  
adpellans: ‘Principem Galbam sextæ legionis auctoritate  
‘factum: illa primum acie secundanos nova signa novam-  
‘que aquilam dicaturos.’ Hinc, prævectus ad Germani-



cum exercitum, manus tendebat, ‘ ut suam ripam, sua ‘ castra, sanguine hostium reciperarent.’ Alacrior omnium clamor, quis vel e longa pace prælii cupido, vel fessis bello pacis amor, præmiaque et quies in posterum sperabantur.

XVII. Nec Civilis silentem struxit aciem, locum pugnae testem virtutis ciens: ‘ stare Germanos Batavosque super ‘ vestigia gloriæ, cineres ossaque legionum calcantes: ‘ quocunque oculos Romanus intenderet, captivitatem, ‘ clademque et dira omnia observari. Ne terrerentur ‘ vario Treverici prælii eventu: suam illic victoriam ‘ Germanis obstitisse, dum, omissis telis, præda manus inpediunt: sed cuncta mox prospera et hosti contraria ‘ evenisse. Quæ provideri astu Ducis oportuerit, pro- ‘ visa: campos madentes et ipsis gnaros; paludes hostibus noxias. Rhenum et Germaniæ Deos in adpectu: ‘ quorum numine capesserent pugnam, conjugum, parentum, patriæ memores: illum diem aut gloriosissimum inter ‘ majores, aut ignominiosum apud posteros, fore.’ Ubi sono armorum (*m*) tripudiisque (ita illis mos) adprobata sunt dicta, saxis glandibusque et ceteris missilibus prælium incipitur: neque nostro milite paludem ingrediente, et Germanis, ut elicerent, lacescentibus.

XVIII. Absumptis, quæ jaciuntur, et ardescente pugna, procursum ab hoste infestius: immensis corporibus et prælongis hastis fluitantem labantemque militem eminus fodiebant: simul e mole, quam eductam in Rhenum retulimus, Bructerorum cuneus tranavit: turbata ibi res: et pellebatur sociarum cohortium acies, cum legiones pugnam excipiunt, suppressaque hostium ferocia, prælium æquatur. Inter quæ perfuga Batavus adiit Cerialem, ‘ terga hostium’ promittens, ‘ si extremo paludis eques mitteretur: soli- ‘ dum illa, et Gugernos, quibus custodia obvenisset, parum ‘ intentos.’ Duæ alæ, cum perfuga missæ, incauto hosti circumfunduntur: quod ubi clamore cognitum, legiones a fronte incubuere, pulsique Germani Rhenum fuga petebant. Debellatum eo die foret, si Romana classis sequi maturasset. Ne eques quidem institit, repente fuis imbribus et propinqua nocte.

XIX. Postera die, quartadecima legio in superiorem provinciam Gallo Anno missa: Cerialis exercitum decima

ex Hispania legio supplevit. Civili Chaucorum auxilia venere. Non tamen ausus oppida Batavorum (*n*) armis tueri, raptis, quæ ferri poterant, ceteris injecto igni, in insulam concessit : gnarus, deesse naves efficiendo ponti, neque exercitum Romanum aliter transmissurum : quin et diruit molem, (*o*) a Druso Germanico factam, Rhenumque, pronò alveo in Galliam ruentem, disjectis, quæ morabantur, effudit. Sic velut abacto amne, tenuis alveus, insulam inter Germanosque, continentium terrarum speciem facerat. Transiere Rhenum Tutor quoque et Classicus et centum tredecim Treverorum Senatores : in quibus fuit Alpinus Montanus, quem a Primo Antonio missum in Gallias superius memoravimus. Comitabatur eum frater D. Alpinus. Simul ceteri miseratione ac donis auxilia concibant, inter gentes periculorum avidas.

XX. Tantumque belli superfuit, ut præsidia cohortium, alarum, legionum, uno die Civilis quadripartito invaserit : decimam legionem Arenaci, secundam Batavoduri, et Grinnes Vadamque, (*p*) cohortium alarumque castra ; ita divisissimis copiis ut ipse et Verax, sorore ejus genitus, Classicusque ac Tutor suam quisque manum traherent : nec omnia patrandi fiducia ; sed ‘ multa ausis aliqua in parte fortunam adfore. Simul Cerialem neque satis cautum, et pluribus ‘ nuntiis huc illuc cursantem, posse medio intercipi.’ Quibus obvenerant castra decumanorum, oppugnationem legionis arduam rati, egressum militem, et cædendis materiis operatum, turbavere, occiso Præfecto castrorum et quinque primoribus Centurionum paucisque militibus. Ceteri se munimentis defendere. Et interim Germanorum manus Batavoduri rumpere inchoatum pontem nitebantur.

XXI. Ambiguum prælium nox diremit. Plus discriminis apud Grinnes Vadamque. Vadam Civilis, Grinnes Classicus, oppugnabant : nec sisti poterant, interfecto fortissimo quoque : in quis Briganticus, Præfectus alæ, ceci-

*n* These towns lay between the Meuse and the Rhine, supposed to be *Gennep*, *Cleves* and *Nimeguen*.

*o* For an account of the bank constructed by Drusus, see Ann. xxiii. s. 53.

*p* *Arenacum*, an ancient town in the Island of Batavia ; now Arnheim, in Guelderland. *Batavodurum*, a town in the Island of Batavia ; now, as some of the commentators say, *Wyk-te-duur-stede*. *Grinnes*, a town of the Batavians, on the right side of the Vahal, in the territory of Utrecht. *Vada*, a town of Batavia.

derat; quem fidum Romanis et Civili, avunculo, infensum diximus. (*q*) Sed, ubi Cerialis cum delecta equitum manu subvenit, versa fortuna, præcipites Germani in amnem aguntur. Civilis, dum fugientes retentat, agnitus, petitusque telis, relicto equo, tranavit: idem Veracis effugium. Tutorem Classicumque adpulsæ lintres vexere. Ne tum quidem Romana classis pugnae adfuit, ut jussum erat: sed obstitit formido et remiges per alia militiæ munia dispersi. Sane Cerialis parum temporis ad exsequenda imperia dabat: subitus consiliis, sed eventu clarus. Aderat fortuna, etiam ubi artes defuissent: hinc ipsi exercituique minor cura disciplinæ. Et paucos post dies, quamquam periculum captivitatis evasisset, infamiam non vitavit.

XXI. Profectus Novesium Bonnamque ad visenda castra, quæ hiematuris legionibus erigebantur, navibus remeabat: disjecto agmine, incuriosis vigiliis. Animadversum id Germanis: et insidias composuere: electa nox atra nubibus, et prono amne rapti, nullo prohibente, vallum ineunt. Prima cædes astu adjuta: incisis tabernaculorum funibus, suismet tentoriis coopertos trucidabant. Aliud agmen turbare classem: injicere vincla: trahere puppes. Utque ad fallendum silentio, ita, cœpta cæde, quo plus terroris adderent, cuncta clamoribus miscebant. Romani, vulneribus exciti, quærunt arma, ruunt per vias, pauci ornatu militari, plerique circum brachia torta veste et strictis mucronibus. Dux semisomnus ac prope intectus errore hostium servatur. Namque Prætoriam navem vexillo insignem, illic Ducem rati, abripiunt. Cerialis alibi noctem egerat, ut plerique credidere, ob stuprum Claudia Sacratæ, mulieris Ubicæ: vigiles flagitium suum Ducis dedecore excusabant, tamquam 'jussi silere, ne quietem ejus turbarent: ita, in-  
'termisso signo et vocibus, se quoque in somnum lapsos.' Multa luce revecti hostes, captivis navibus, Prætoriam triremem flumine Luppia (*r*) donum Veledæ traxere.

XXIII. Civilem cupido incessit navalem aciem ostentandi. Complet, quod biremium, quæque simplici ordine agebantur. Adjecta ingens lintrium vis, tricenos quadragenosque ferentium: armamenta Liburnicis solita: et simul aptæ lintres sagulis versicoloribus haud indecore provelis juvabantur. Spatium velut æquoris electu, quo Mo-

*q* See Hist. iv. s. 70.

*r* Luppia, a river of Westphalia; now the Lippe.



sæ fluminis os (s) amnem Rhenum Oceano adfundit. Causa instruendæ classis, super insitam genti vanitatem, ut eo terrore commeatus Gallia adventantes interciperent. Cerialis miraculo magis, quam metu, direxit classem, numero inparem, usu remigum, gubernatorum arte, navium magnitudine potiozem. His flumen secundum; illi vento agebantur. Sic prævecti, tentato levium telorum jactu, dirimuntur. Civilis nihil ultra ausus, trans Rhenum concessit. Cerialis, insulam Batavorum hostiliter populatus, agros villasque Civilis intactos, nota arte Ducum, sinebat: cum interim, flexu autumnii et crebris per hiemem imbribus, superfusus amnis palustrem humilemque insulam in faciem stagni opplevit, nec classis aut commeatus aderant: castraque, in plano sita, vi fluminis differebantur.

XXIV. 'Potuisse tunc opprimi legiones, et voluisse Germanos, sed dolo a se flexos,' inputavit Civilis. Neque abhorret vero, quando paucis post diebus deditio insecuta est. Nam Cerealis per occultos nuntios 'Batavis pacem, Civili veniam,' ostentans, Veledam, propinquosque monebat, 'fortunam belli, tot cladibus adversam, opportuno erga Populum Romanum merito mutare. Cæsos Treveros, receptos Ubios, ereptam Batavis patriam: neque aliud Civilis amicitia paratum, quam vulnera, fugas, luctus: exsulem eum et extorrem recipientibus oneri: et satis peccavisse, quod totiens Rhenum transcendierint: si quid ultra moliantur, inde injuriam et culpam, hinc ultionem et Deos fore.'

XXV. Miscebantur minis promissa. Et, concussa Transrhenanorum fide, inter Batavos quoque sermones orti: 'non prorogandam ultra ruinam: nec posse ab una natione totius orbis servitium depelli: quid perfectum cæde et incendiis legionum, nisi ut plures validioresque accirentur? Si Vespasiano bellum navaverint, Vespasianum rerum potiri; sin Populum Romanum armis provocent, quotam partem generis humani Batavos esse? respicerent Rhætos Noricosque et ceterorum onera sociorum: sibi non tributa, sed virtutem et viros indici: proximum id libertati: et, si dominorum electio sit, honestius Principes Romanorum, quam Germanorum feminas tolerari.' hæc vulgus. Proceres: 'atrociore Civilis rabie semet in arma trusus: illum domesticis malis excidium gentis op-

‘posuisse: tunc infensos Batavis Deos, cum obsiderentur  
 ‘legiones, interficerentur Legati, bellum uni necessarium,  
 ‘ferale ipsis sumeretur. Ventum ad extrema, ni resipis-  
 ‘cere incipiant, et noxii capitis pœna pœnitentiam fate-  
 ‘antur.’

XXVI. Non fefellit Civilem ea inclinatio, et prævenire  
 statuit: super tædium malorum, etiam spe vitæ, quæ ple-  
 rumque magnos animos infringit. Petito conloquio, scin-  
 ditur Nabaliæ (*t*) fluminis pons: in cujus abrupta progressi  
 Duces: et Civilis ita cœpit: ‘si apud Vitellii Legatum  
 ‘defenderer; neque facto meo venia, neque dictis fides,  
 ‘debeatur. Cuncta inter nos inimica, hostilia, ab illo  
 ‘cœpta a me aucta erant. Erga Vespasianum vetus mihi  
 ‘observantia: et, cum privatus esset, amici vocabamur.  
 ‘Hoc Primo Antonio notum, cujus epistolis ad bellum ac-  
 ‘citus sum, ne Germanicæ legiones, et Gallica juvenus  
 ‘Alpes transcenderet. Quæ Antonius epistolis, (*u*) Hor-  
 ‘deonius Flaccus præsens monebat, arma in Germania  
 ‘movi, quæ Mucianus in Syria, Aponius in Mœsia, Flaviana  
 ‘nus in Pannonia.’ (*v*)

*t* Nabalia was the name of the channel made by Drusus from the Rhine to the river Sala. See Ann. ii. s. 8.

*u* Letters were sent from Antonius, exciting Civilis to war, in order to hinder the legions on the Rhine from marching to the support of Vitellius, in Italy. See Hist. iv. s. 13.

*v* The rest of the History is lost, and with it the siege of Jerusalem, with the reigns of Vespasian, Titus and Domitian.

A  
TREATISE  
ON THE  
SITUATION, MANNERS, AND PEOPLE  
OF  
GERMANY.

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INTRODUCTION.

THE time when the treatise on the German Manners was written, is fixed by Lipsius in the fourth consulship of Nerva, and the second of Trajan, A. U. C. 851, A. D. 98. A passage in section 37, where Tacitus mentions the second consulship of Trajan, clearly shows that the piece was composed in that year, or soon after. It is a draught of savage manners, delineated by a masterly hand; the more interesting, as the part of the world which it describes was the seminary of the modern European nations; the *VAGINA GENTIUM*, as historians have emphatically called it. The work is short, but, as Montesquieu observes, it is the work of a man who abridged every thing, because he knew every thing. It is for this reason that the following notes have swelled to a size, which may, at first sight, appear unwieldy; but the subject merits attention; it calls for something more than mere cursory observation. A thorough knowledge of the transactions of barbarous ages will throw more light than is generally imagined on the laws of modern times. Wherever the barbarians, who issued from their northern hive, settled in new habitations, they carried with



them their native genius, their original manners, and the first rudiments of the political system which has prevailed in different parts of Europe. They established monarchy and liberty; subordination and freedom; the prerogative of the prince and the right of the subject; all united in so bold a combination, that the fabric in some places stands to this hour the wonder of mankind. The British constitution, says Montesquieu, came out of the woods of Germany. What the state of Britain, was before the arrival of the Saxons, Tacitus has shown in the *Life of Agricola*. If we add to his account what has been transmitted to us concerning the Germans and Britons by Julius Cæsar, we shall see the origin of the Anglo-Saxon government, the great outline of that Gothic constitution, under which the British enjoy their rights and liberties at this hour. Montesquieu, speaking of his own country, declares it impossible to form an adequate notion of the French monarchy, and the changes of their government, without a previous inquiry into the manners, genius, and spirit of the German nations. Much of what was incorporated with the institutions of those fierce invaders, has flowed down in the stream of time, and still mingles with our modern jurisprudence. It is true, that in the progress of society, arts and sciences have diffused new lights, and the civil union being, by consequence, better understood, milder laws, and more polished manners have well-nigh effaced all traces of barbarism; but still it will not be unpleasant, nor indeed useless, to go back to those days of ignorance. We shall view the waters at their fountain-head dark, foul, and muddy; but by following them downward, we shall see them working themselves clear, and purified, at length, to a clear and limpid current. We shall gain a knowledge of the origin of laws, while we read the history of the human mind.



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This tract was composed by Tacitus in the

Year of Rome.

Of Christ.

Consuls.

851.

98.

Nerva, the 4th time. }

Trojan, the 2d. }



**GERMANIA** (*a*) omnis a Gallia (*b*) Rhætisque et Pannoniis Rheno et Danubio fluminibus, a Sarmatis Dacisque (*c*)

*a* Augustus Cæsar divided part of Belgic Gaul into two provinces, distinguished by the names of Upper and Lower Germany. Many of the new settlers in those parts were originally Germans, and, when the whole country was reduced under subjection to the Roman empire, the people, unwilling to pass for natives of Gaul, still retained their original name. Those two provinces called the Upper and Lower Germany, being, in fact, part of Gaul, are not comprised in the account given by Tacitus. He speaks of ancient Germany, called Germania Antiqua, or Barbara; of Germany on the eastern side of the Rhine, Germania Transrhenana; bounded, on the west by the Rhine; on the south by the Danube; on the east by the Vistula, or Weissel, and the mountains of Sarmatia; and finally by the Northern Ocean, including the Baltic, and the gulfs of Bothnia and Finland.

*b* Gaul, according to Cæsar, was divided into three parts, namely, 1. Belgic Gaul, bounded by the Seine, the Marne, the mountains of Vauze, the Rhine, and the Ocean. 2dly, Celtic Gaul, bounded by the Ocean, the Seine, the Marne, the Saone, the Rhone, and the Garonne. 3dly, Aquitania, bounded by the Atlantic Ocean, the Garonne, and the Pyrenees.

*c* Dacia, in a short time after Tacitus wrote this treatise, was reduced by the emperor Trajan to a Roman province. It lay on the other side of the Danube, extending northward to the Carpathian mountains, comprising part of Upper Hungary, Transylvania, Walachia, and Moldavia.

Sarmatia was formerly divided into European and Asiatic. The European division is here intended by Tacitus. It had the Vistula, or Weissel, and a chain of mountains for its western boundary, and



mutuo metu aut montibus, separatur. Cetera Occanus ambit, latos sinus et insularum immensa spatia complectens, (*d*) nuper cognitis quibusdam gentibus ac Regibus, quos bellum aperuit. (*e*) Rhenus, Rhæticarum Alpium (*f*) inaccessu ac præcipiti vertice ortus, modico flexu in Occidentem versus, septentrionali Oceano miscetur. Danubius, molli et clementer edito montis Abnobæ (*g*) jugo effusus, plures populos adit, donec in Ponticum mare sex meatibus erumpit: septimum enim os paludibus hauritur.

extended to the northern parts of Europe, comprising Livonia, Lithuania, Russia, and Crim Tartary.

The mountains, which in part divided these nations from Germany, are now called the Carpathian mountains, running between Poland, Hungary, and Transylvania.

*d* The Baltic Sea was, probably, thought in the time of Tacitus to be the Northern Ocean. The deep gulfs were those of Bothnia and Finland. Sweden, Norway, and Finland, were anciently called Scandinavia, and supposed by the Romans to be a large island.

*e* Before the expeditions of Drusus and his son Germanicus, the Romans had not pierced far into Germany. Drusus, A. U. C. 744, advanced with his fleet as far as the promontory of the Cimbrians, who inhabited the country now called Jutland. Tacitus wrote his treatise about one hundred and eight years afterwards, and not less than eighty years after the war in Germany, under the conduct of Germanicus. That commander carried his victorious arms into parts of the country unexplored before. It is probable that some further discoveries were made in the time of Domitian.

*f* The Rhætian Alps are now called the Mountains of the Grisons; that, in particular, from which the Rhine issues, is called Vogelberg. This celebrated river flows in one regular channel, embracing a few small islands in its course, till it reaches the island of the Batavians, where it divides itself into two branches, one washing the eastern side of Germany, and the other forming the boundary of Gaul. For a further account of this river, see Annals, ii. s. 6.

*g* The mountain Abnoba is called by the Germans Schwartzwald, and by the French the Black Forest, la Foret Noire. Brotier refers to the volumes of Count Marsili, who discovered the fountain-head of the Danube and Rhine in 1702. Before that time Doneschingen was erroneously called the fountain-head of the Danube. That famous river, from its spring as far as Vienna, retained the name of the Danube, but according to Pliny, as soon as it reached ILLYRICUM, and thence to its mouth, where it discharges itself into the Euxine, or Black Sea, it was called the Ister. Brotier adds, that the Danube preserves its course through the Euxine into the Mediterranean, distinguished all the way by the clearness of the current; and the ships, he says, from the Ægean Sea (now the Archipelago,) as far as the Propontic, (the Sea of Marmora,) can with difficulty make head against the force of so rapid a stream.

II. Ipsos Germanos indigenas (*h*) crediderim, minimeque aliarum gentium adventibus et hospitibus mixtos; quia nec terra olim, sed classibus, advehebantur, (*i*) qui mutare sedes quærebant: et immensus ultra, utque sic dixerim, adversus Oceanus raris ab orbe nostro navibus aditur. (*j*) Quis porro, præter periculum horridi et ignoti maris, Asia aut Africa aut Italia relictæ, Germaniam peteret? (*k*) informem terris, asperam cœlo, tristem cultu adspectuque, nisi si patria sit. Celebrant carminibus (*l*)

*h* The inhabitants of every nation, that had no literary monuments, were by the ancients deemed the immediate offspring of the soil. The world is now better informed. Asia is considered as the country where the numbers of mankind multiplied with rapid increase, and thence, overflowing into Scythia, peopled the northern regions of Europe. Under which of the sons of Noah that vast migration was formed, it is now fruitless to inquire. Antiquarians have amused themselves with systems founded on vain opinions, and, having no historical records, they have wandered in a maze of wild conjecture, without contributing to the stock of real knowledge.

*i* In this passage a mistake seems to be justly imputed to Tacitus. The first migrations could not be made by sea in those early ages, when the use of shipping was little known. As soon as population increased in Asia, the redundant multitude went forth in quest of new settlements, and poured into Scythia, Sarmatia, Hungary, and Poland, and thence into Germany. When navigation began to be in some degree understood, colonies were transplanted by sea. It was by sea that Cecrops conveyed his people from Egypt into Greece, and it was in the same manner that the Phœnicians transported their colonies to the coast of Africa. But migrations must have been made before those events, and the northern parts of Europe were peopled long before.

*j* In the time of Tacitus, a voyage from Italy to the Northern Ocean would have been an enterprise too wild and daring. Drusus, the father of Germanicus, was the first Roman commander who ventured to explore those seas.

*k* This is by no means a satisfactory reason for the position advanced by Tacitus, namely, that the Germans were the indigenous offspring of the soil. In those remote ages, when the numbers of one nation overflowed into another, the object was not the most delightful country, but the safest habitation. Asia, Italy, and some parts of Africa, afford delightful spots; but to men who could not find a settlement in those regions, even Germany, which appears so horrid to Tacitus, was not without its conveniences. The people escaped from oriental despotism, and lived in freedom. A freehold, says Addison, though but in ice or snow, will make the owner pleased with the possession, and stout in the defence of it.

*l* Songs and rude poetry have been in all savage countries the memorials of public transactions. Kings and heroes were the poets and historians of the Scythian, the Celtic, and the northern nations. Saxo



antiquis (quod unum apud illos memoriæ et annalium genus est) ‘Tuistonem Deum, (*m*) terra editum, et filium Mannum, originem gentis conditoresque. Manno tris filios’ adsignant, ‘e quorum nominibus proximi Oceano Ingævones, medii Hermiones, ceteri Istævones vocentur. (*n*)’ Quidam autem, licentia vetustatis, ‘plures Deo ortos pluresque gentis adpellationes, Marsos, Gambrivios, Suevos, Vandalios (*o*)’ adfirmant: ‘eaque vera et antiqua nomina. Ceterum Germaniæ vocabulum recens et nuper additum; quoniam, qui primi Rhenum transgressi Gallos expulerint, ac, nunc Tungri, tunc Germani vocati sint: ita nationis nomen in nomen gentis evaluisse paullatim, ut om-

Grammaticus and other writers inform us, that they drew their materials from Runic Songs, or Icelandic poetry. The Gauls had their Druids, the priests and philosophers of the nation, who preserved their doctrine by oral tradition, and verses committed to memory only. The Germans had their Bards, who in their songs recorded all public transactions, and sung the praises of their warriors and illustrious men. At all feasts and public assemblies the bards were the panegyrist of exalted merit. The same was the case in Britain, Wales, and Ireland. The songs of the bards were the prelude to battle; they inspired the chiefs with enthusiastic ardour. When Edward I. formed the plan of reducing Wales to subjection, he thought it necessary to destroy all the bards. The Scandinavians had their poets, or Scalds, whose business it was to compose odes or songs, in which they celebrated the warlike achievements of their ancestors. The praises which those poets gave to valour, the enthusiasm which animated their verses, and the care which the people took to learn them from their infancy, all conspired to rouse the martial spirit of their armies. *Mallet's Northern Antiquities*, vol. i. p. 223.

*m* Various opinions have been advanced by antiquarians concerning the name of Tuisto. Some assert that it means the creator of the world; and that Mannus, which is *man* with a Latin termination, relates to Adam. Others will have it, that Tuisto is the same as Teutates, a Scythian or Celtic king; and much learning has been laid out upon the subject. It is sufficient that he was the most ancient deity of the Germans and Scandinavians, long before the worship of Odin was established.

*n* We have here, in three grand divisions, a general geographical description of Germany. The commentators inform us that they have found compound words in the German language, signifying first, the inhabitants of the maritime parts; 2dly, inhabitants of the midland country; 3dly, inhabitants of the east; and those words correspond with the three appellations, which the Romans softened into their own idiom.

*o* The Vandals are the same as the *Vindili* mentioned by Pliny; a brave and warlike race, who afterwards overran Gaul, Spain, and Italy, and were finally destroyed in Africa.



'nes primum a victore ob metum, mox a seipsis invento nomine,' Germani 'vocarentur.' (*p*)

III. 'Fuisse apud eos et Herculem' memorant, primumque omnium virorum fortium ituri in prælia canunt. Sunt illis hæc quoque carmina, quorum relatu, quem 'barditum' (*q*) vocant, accendunt animos, futuræque pugnæ fortunam ipso cantu augurantur: terrent enim trepidantve, prout sonuit acies. Nec tam vocis ille, quam virtutis, concentus videntur. Adfectatur præcipue asperitas soni et fractum murmur, objectis ad os scutis, quo plenior et gravior vox repercussu intumescat. Ceterum et 'Ulixem,' quidam opinantur, 'longo illo et fabuloso errore in hunc Oceanum delatum, adisse Germaniæ terras, Asciburgiumque, (*r*) quod in ripa Rheni situm hodieque incolitur, ab

*p* Lipsius is of opinion that this passage will ever be the torment of the commentators. But the difficulty does not seem to be insurmountable. Tacitus says, that the first emigrants from the other side of the Rhine who entered Gaul, and dispossessed the natives, were in his time called Tungrians; but when they undertook their expedition, to strike their enemies with terror, *ob metum*, they called themselves Germans. The word, of course, implied something formidable, and, by averting to the etymology, it receives the following construction. *Gehr*, or *Wehr*, signifies war. From that root the French have derived their word *guerre*. *Man*, in the German tongue, implied the same as it does now in that country and in England. Hence we find, that the first invaders, *ob metum*, to spread a general alarm, called themselves Germans, or *warlike men*.

*q* The commentators are much at variance about the reading of the original word to express the recitation of the German poets. Some of them contend for *barritus*, instead of *barditus*; for *barrire*, they say, signifies the cry or roar of an elephant. Horace uses the word *barrus*, for an elephant. *Mulier nigris dignissima barris*; *Epod. 12*. But Lipsius observes, that elephants were not known in Germany. This dispute about a word, seems to be, as is usually the case, of little or no importance, since it is evident that the poets of Germany and Britain were called Bards, and therefore *barditus* is, probably, the true reading.

The strains of verse which the bards poured forth in their fits of enthusiasm, inflamed the German and the British warriors with heroic fortitude. Perhaps nothing contributed more to make those nations stand at bay for such a length of time with the whole power of the Romans. The soldier said to the bard, "Come, and see me fighting for my country; see me bleed, if the fate of war will have it so; and if I die, be sure to record my memory." This was the ambition of the northern nations.

*r* The love of fabulous history, which was the passion of ancient times, produced a new Hercules in every country, and made Ulysses

'illo constitutum nominatumque. Aram quin etiam Ulixi  
'consecratam, adjecto Laertæ patris nomine, eodem loco  
'olim repertam, monumentaque et tumulos quosdam, Græ-  
'cis litteris inscriptos, (s) in confinio Germaniæ Rhætiæ-  
'que adhuc exstare : ' quæ neque confirmare argumentis,  
neque refellere in animo est : ex ingenio suo quisque de-  
mat. vel addat fidem.

IV. Ipse eorum opinionibus accedo, qui ' Germaniæ po-  
'pulos nullis aliis aliarum nationum connubiis infectos, pro-  
'priam et sinceram et tantum sui similem gentem exstitis-  
'se,' arbitrantur : unde habitus quoque corporum, quam-  
quam in tanto hominum numero, idem omnibus : (t) truces  
et cærulei oculi, rutilæ comæ, magna corpora et tantum ad  
inpetum valida : laboris atque operum non eadem patien-  
tia : minimeque sitim æstumque tolerare, frigora atque ine-  
diam cœlo solove adsueverunt.

V. Terra, etsi aliquanto specie differt, in universum  
tamen aut silvis horrida, aut paludibus foeda : humidior,  
qua Gallias ; ventosior, qua Noricum ac Pannoniam adspi-  
cit : satis ferax : frugiferarum arborum inpatiens : (u)

wander in every sea. Tacitus mentions it as a romantic tale, but Strabo seems willing to countenance the fiction, and, for that purpose, gravely tells us, that Ulysses founded a city, called Odyssey, in Spain.

s Inscriptions on stone, marble, or brass, though cut in Greek characters, are a bad support of the systems advanced by theoretical writers. Tacitus has shown, *Annals*, xi. s. 14, that the use of alphabetical letters passed from the Phœnicians into Greece, and from Greece into Italy and Gaul, particularly to Marseilles. Cæsar relates, b. i. s. 21, that a roll was found in the Helvetian camp, written in Greek characters, and containing a list of all (including old men, women, and children,) who had set out in the expedition against the Roman army. In book vi. s. 13, he expressly says, that the Druids did not commit their statutes to writing, but in all other matters made use of Greek characters. Those characters passed from Gaul into Germany, where Count Marsili and others have found several monuments with Greek inscriptions.

t This wonderful similitude throughout the whole race has been remarked by various authors. Juvenal mentions their yellow hair, their blue eyes, and other circumstances that made the whole nation appear to be one family.

u The Germans attended to nothing but the production of corn. Their country, like Canada, was covered over with immense tracts of forest, and, till the ground was cleared, and the cold, by consequence, abated of its rigour, cultivation could not be carried on with any kind of advantage.

pecorum fœcunda, sed plerumque inprocera. ne armentis quidem suus honor, aut gloria frontis: numero gaudent: eæque solæ et gratissimæ opes sunt. Argentum et aurum propitii an irati Dii negaverint, dubito. Nec tamen affirmaverim, nullam Germaniæ venam argentum aurumve gignere: (*v*) quis enim scrutatus est? possessione et usu haud perinde adficiuntur. Est videre apud illos argentea vasa, legatis et Principibus eorum muneri data, non in alia vilitate, quam quæ humo finguntur: quamquam proximi, ob usum commerciorum, aurum et argentum in pretio habent, formasque quasdam nostræ pecuniæ agnoscunt atque eligunt: interiores simplicius et antiquius permutatione mercium utuntur. Pecuniam probant veterem et diu notam, serratos, bigatosque. (*w*) Argentum quoque magis quam aurum sequuntur, (*x*) nulla adfectione animi, sed quia numerus argenteorum facilius usui est promiscua ac vilia mercantibus.

VI. Ne ferrum quidem superest, (*y*) sicut ex genere

*v* Notwithstanding what is here said, we find, *Annals*, xi. s. 20, that Curtius Rufus opened a silver mine in the territory of the Mattiaca, now subject to the landgrave of Hesse; but it was soon exhausted.

*w* The Romans began to coin silver A. U. C. 485. Their gold coin began in the year 587. On all their money, Victory was seen in a triumphal car, driving sometimes two horses, and sometimes four. Hence their pieces were called *bigati* or *quadrigati*. See Pliny, book xxxiii. s. 3. The coin was indented round the edges like a saw, *serrata*, and, for that reason, called *serrati*. Brotier says, he has seen several pieces of this old coin in the college-library of Lewis the Fourteenth. Pliny tells us, that the Romans soon began to debase their coin, and to mix an alloy of brass with their silver. The emperors still debased it more. The Germans in all their money-dealings suspected fraud, and therefore preferred the coin of the republic, such as had a car with two or four horses, and the edge indented. The antiquarians have employed much learning on this subject; but the above short account (suggested by Brotier and La Bletterie) seems to be the true solution of the difficulty.

*x* It is remarkable that the Romans always exacted from the conquered nations a tribute of silver. Pliny the elder wonders at the fact, and adds that, when Hannibal was overthrown, and Carthage reduced to subjection, the Romans demanded an annual tribute of silver for the term of fifty years; but they made no mention of gold. See Pliny, book xxxiii. s. 13 and 15.

*y* Abundance of iron was to be found in the bowels of the earth; but to extract it, to soften it by fire, and render it pliant and malleable, required more skill and patience than consisted with the rough genius of a savage race. Accordingly, swords and javelins were not much in use. A spear tipped with iron, in their language, called, as



telorum conligitur. Rari gladiis, aut majoribus lanceis utuntur: hastas, vel ipsorum vocabulo 'frameas,' gerunt, angusto et brevi ferro, sed ita acri, et ad usum habili, ut eodem telo, prout ratio poscit, vel cominus vel eminus pugnent: et eques quidem scuto frameaque contentus est: pedites et missilia spargunt, plura singuli, atque in immensum vibrant, nudi aut sagulo leves: (z) nulla cultus jactatio: scuta tantum lectissimis coloribus distinguunt: paucis loricae: vix uni alterive cassis, aut galea. Equi non forma, non velocitate conspicui: sed nec variare gyros, in morem nostrum, docentur. (a) In rectum, aut uno flexu dextros agunt, ita conjuncto orbe, ut nemo posterior sit. In universum aestimanti, plus penes peditem roboris: eoque mixti praeliantur, (b) apta et congruente

Brotier informs us, *friem*, or *priem*, was their weapon in almost all the battles recorded by Tacitus. From the word *friem*, the Roman writer easily made the term *framea*, more consonant to the *idiom* of the Latin language. It appears in the *Annals*, book ii. s. 14, that those instruments were of an enormous size, and unwieldy in close engagement. The number was not sufficient to arm more than the front line of their army. The rest carried short darts or clubs hardened by fire. In general, pointed stones were prefixed to their weapons, and many of these, Brotier says, have been discovered in German sepulchres.

z The only covering of a German was a short mantle. Their soldiers, for the most part, were naked. All, however, were curious in the embellishment of their shields, which we find, *Annals*, ii. s. 14, were not made of iron, but of osier twigs interwoven, or of thin boards decorated with gaudy colours. These shields were the delight of the German soldiers. They were, at first, the ensigns of valour, and afterwards of nobility. The warlike chief made it his study to adorn his shield with variegated colours and the figures of animals, to distinguish his own martial prowess; and what in the beginning was merely personal, became in time hereditary. Hence what we now call coats of arms peculiar to the descendants of particular families; and hence the origin of heraldry. The shield of a German was his only protection in the heat of an engagement. Breast-plates were worn by a few only. The head-piece was of two sorts; one made of metal, to which the Romans gave the name of *cassis*; the second of leather, called *galea*.

a The Roman art of managing the war-horse is beautifully described by Virgil, 3 *Georg.* v. 182. The reader who desires to know the skill with which the Romans vaulted on their horses and leaped off again, will find it at large in Vegetius, lib. i. cap. 18.

b The German manner of intermixing the foot soldiers with the cavalry is described by Julius Cæsar. Ariovistus, he says, had about six thousand horsemen, who chose a like number out of the foot, each

ad equestrem pugnam velocitate peditum, quos ex omni juventute delectos, ante aciem locant. Definitur et numerus: 'centeni' (c) ex singulis pagis sunt: idque ipsum inter suos vocantur: et quod primo numerus fuit, jam nomen et honor est. Acies per cuneos (d) componitur. Cedere loco, dummodo rursus instes, consilii quam formidinis arbitrantur. Corpora suorum etiam id dubiis præliis referunt. (e) Scutum reliquisse, præcipuum flagitium: nec aut sacris adesse, aut concilium inire, ignominioso fas: multique superstitēs bellorum infamiam laqueo finierunt.

VII. Reges ex nobilitate; Duces ex virtute sumunt. (f)

his man, all remarkable for strength and agility. These accompanied the cavalry in battle, and served as a rear-guard. If the action became dangerous, they advanced to the relief of the troops. If any horseman was wounded, and fell to the ground, they gathered round to defend him. If speed was required, either for hasty pursuit or sudden retreat, they were so nimble and alert by continual exercise, that, laying hold of the manes of the horses, they could keep pace with their swiftest motion. *Cæsar de Bell. Gall. lib. i. s. 48.*

c Germany was divided into states or communities, each state into cantons, and each canton into hundreds, or a hundred families. So the Suevians were divided, according to Cæsar, book iv. s. 1. The Swiss to this day are divided into cantons.

d The word wedge, importing a body of men drawn up in that form, is a known military term. The ranks are wide in the rear, but lessen by degrees, and sharpen to a point in front, the better to break through the lines of the enemy. The practice was universally in use among the Germans, and, accordingly, in the History of Tacitus, b. iv. s. 16, we find Civilis drawing up the Frisians, the Caninefates, and his own countrymen, the Batavians, in three different wedges. Whoever has a mind to read more on this subject, will find a dissertation in the *Memoirs of the Academy of Belles Lettres*, 4to edit. vol. xxv. p. 440.

e To bring off his slaughtered comrades, in order to bury their bodies, was a point of honour with the German warrior; and to leave his shield on the field of battle was a most flagitious crime. It continued to be so several years after the time Tacitus speaks of, since we find that a heavy fine was imposed by the Salic law on him who falsely accused another of that heinous offence.

f The text in this place seems perfectly clear, though various writers, fond of a particular hypothesis, have endeavoured to perplex it. Some of those ingenious authors contend, that the kings in Germany were hereditary, and the general officers elective. But Tacitus says, *sumunt*, they take or choose, and he applies the word to kings as well as commanders in chief. Hence it may be fairly inferred, that in the election of kings they had regard to the nobility of an ancient race; but still they *chose* them. They chose, perhaps, out of certain families, and gave the preference to the issue of the deceased king: but it does not appear that they were bound by any law of inheritance.



Nec Regibus infinita aut libera potestas : et Duces exemplo potius, quam imperio : si prompti, si conspiciui, si ante aciem agant, admiratione præsumt. Ceterum, neque animadvertere, neque vincere, ne verberare quidem, nisi Sacerdotibus permissum : (g) non quâsi in pœnam, nec Ducis jussu, sed velut Deo imperante, quem adesse bellantibus credunt : effigiesque et signa quædam, detracta lucis, (h) in prælium ferunt. Quodque præcipuum fortitudinis incitamentum est, non casus, nec fortuita conglobatio turmam aut cuneum facit, sed familiæ et propinquitates, et in proximo pignora, unde feminarum ululatus audiri, unde vagitus infantum : hi cuique sanctissimi testes, hi maximi laudatores. (i) Ad matres, ad conjuges vulnera ferunt : nec illæ numerare, aut exigere plagas, pavent : cibosque et hortamina pugnantibus gestant.

VIII. Memoriam proditur, quasdam acies, inclinatas jam et labantes, a feminis restitutas, constantia precum et objectu pectorum, (j) et monstrata cominus captivitate,

g The commander in chief had the power of adjudging, but the punishment was inflicted by the priests, who, according to Cæsar, book vi. s. 20, were not of the order of the Druids. It followed, by consequence, that the general met with less ill-will, and the execution was beheld with reverential awe. La Bletterie observes, that in modern times, the stroke of justice, committed always to the base and profligate, is well-nigh rendered odious. The ancient Germans seem to have been of opinion, that the life of man, whenever taken away, should be a sacrifice to the Deity. It is not probable that the ferocity of the people would tamely submit to the severity of human institutions.

h The figures of savage animals were deemed religious symbols ; see Tacitus, *Hist.* b. iv. s. 12. It was also a custom to deposit the standards taken from the enemy in their sacred groves, *Annals*, b. i. s. 59. These they carried with them to their wars.

i The Germans felt themselves inflamed with enthusiastic ardour, when their wives and children surveyed the field of battle. Many instances of this occur in Tacitus. See *History*, b. iv. s. 18. In the engagement between Cæsar and Ariovistus, the Germans encompassed their whole army with a line of carriages, in order to take away all hopes of safety by flight ; and their women, mounted upon those carriages, weeping and tearing their hair, conjured the soldiers, as they advanced to battle, not to suffer them to become slaves to the Romans. Cæsar, b. i. s. 51.

j We have in Florus a lively description of the undaunted courage with which the German women opposed the enemy in the day of battle. After stating the victory obtained by Marius over the Cimbri, the historian says, that the conflict was not less fierce and obstinate with the wives of the vanquished. In their carts and wagons they



quam longe impatientius feminarum suarum nomine timent : adeo, ut efficacius obligentur animi civitatum, quibus inter obsides puellæ quoque nobiles imperantur. Incesse quin etiam sanctum aliquid et providum putant : (*k*) nec aut consilia earum adspernantur, aut responsa negligunt. Vidimus, sub divo Vespasiano, Veledam, (*l*) diu apud ple-

formed a line of battle, and from their elevated situation, as from so many turrets, annoyed the Romans with their poles and lances. Their death was as glorious as their martial spirit. Finding that all was lost, they sent a deputation to Marius, desiring that they might be at liberty to enrol themselves in a religious order. Their request, in its nature impracticable, being refused, they strangled their children, and either destroyed themselves in one scene of mutual slaughter, or, with the sashes that bound up their hair, hung suspended by the neck on the boughs of trees, or the top of their waggons. Florus, book iii. ch. 3. See also Valerius Maximus, book vi ch. 1. That the women were esteemed by the German nations as their dearest pledges, is confirmed by Suetonius, who relates, that Augustus Cæsar demanded from the conquered tribes a new sort of hostages, namely, their women; because he found, by experience, that they did not much regard their male hostages. Sueton. *Life of Augustus*, s. 21.

*k* Plutarch, in his Treatise on the virtues of the Female Sex, relates, that a dispute arose among the tribes of Celtic emigrants, before they passed over the Alps, so fierce and violent, that nothing but the decision of the sword could end the quarrel. The Celtic women on that occasion, rushed between the two armies, and determined the question with such good sense, that the Celtic nations ever after made it their practice to call women to their consultations about peace and war. When Julius Cæsar inquired of the prisoners why Ariovistus declined an engagement, he found that it was the custom among the Germans for the women to decide by lots and divinations, whether it was proper to hazard a battle, and that they had declared against coming to an action before the new moon. Cæsar, book i. s. 50. Strabo relates, that among the Cimbrian women, who followed their husbands in the invasion of Italy, there were several who had the gift of prophecy, and marched barefoot in the midst of the lines, distinguished by their gray hairs, and milk-white linen robes. Strabo, book vii. Tacitus, in his History, observes, that most of the German women were considered as prophetesses, and, in particular, that *Veleda* was worshipped as a goddess. *Hist.* book iv. s. 61 and 65. La Bletterie observes, that, till the final extinction of paganism, the same superstition prevailed in Gaul, and that a number of matrons, or druidical virgins, foretold, when the emperor Alexander was on the point of setting out on his expedition against Germany, that he would never return.

*l* Veleda was a prophetess of the Bructerian nation. She was the oracle of Civilis the Batavian, in his war with the Romans. Cerealis, when he had gained a decisive victory over that warlike chief, and had nothing so much at heart as a general peace, knew the importance

rosque Numinis loco habitam. Sed et olim Auriniam et compluris alias venerati sunt, non adulatione, nec tamquam facerent Deas.

IX. Deorum maxime Mercurium colunt, (m) cui certis

of Veleda, and her influence on the German mind. We see him, for that reason, in the History of Tacitus, b. v. s. 24, endeavouring to draw her over to his interest. And yet with all her boasted knowledge she was blind to her own fate. We learn from Statius, that she was made a captive by Rutulius Gallicus, and obliged to humble herself before the emperor Vespasian. Hence Tacitus says, *Vidimus Veledam, we saw Veleda.*

m This passage has afforded a large field of discussion, in which various writers have expatiated, as fancy, or the love of an hypothesis, happened to dictate. Cæsar tells us, that the Germans have no druids to preside in religious affairs; nor do they trouble themselves about sacrifices. They acknowledge no gods but those that are objects of sight, and by whose power they are apparently benefited; the sun, the moon, fire. Of other gods they knew nothing, not even by report. *De Bell. Gall.* b. vi. s. 20. On the other hand, the same author informs us, that the Gauls worshipped Mercury as the inventor of all useful arts, and the tutelary patron of commerce; and also Apollo, Mars, Jupiter, and Minerva. Book vi. s. 16. But, if it be true, according to the same eminent writer, that the Gauls in ancient times exceeded the Germans in bravery, and often passed over the Rhine to wage war in that country, it cannot be supposed that the Germans never heard of other gods. Mars, we find, was worshipped by the Gauls; but as he was a Scythian god, as Virgil has it, *Gradiumque patrem, Geticis qui, præsidet arvis*, it is highly improbable, that a people who were of Scythian origin, should not have heard of the God of War.

The idea of one God, the governing mind of the universe, was unknown to the Pagan world. The most savage nations had a notion of an invisible power; but being left to their own uninstructed fancy, polytheism was the consequence. They analyzed the Deity, decomposed his essence, personified his attributes, and made new gods for every thing that they wished or feared. All had a sense of a superior Being; but not being able to ascribe omnipotence to one God, they multiplied the number, and distributed the administration of the universe among various deities, assigning to each his separate province, his distinct attributes, and peculiar character. The theology of Greece and Rome sprung out of the wants, the fears, and passions of a savage race, and, in process of time, those nations adorned and polished the rude inventions of their ancestors. Their genius gave the graces of poetry to every fiction, and their mythology was rendered elegant. Other nations, who made no advances in science, formed their system of polytheism in the same manner, and, as was natural, deified the same attributes. And thus, as Hume observes in his *History of Natural Religion*, "The Greek and Roman travellers and conquerors, without much difficulty, found their own deities every where, and said, This is Mercury, that Venus; this is Mars, that



diebus humanis (*n*) quoque hostiis litare fas habent. Herculem ac Martem concessis animalibus placant: pars Suevorum et Isidi sacrificat. Unde caussa et origo peregrino sacro, parum comperi, nisi quod signum ipsum, in modum liburnæ figuratum, docet, advectam religionem. Ceterum, nec cohibere parietibus Deos, neque in ullam humani oris speciem adsimulare, ex magnitudine cœlestium arbitrantur: (*o*) lucos ac nemora consecrant. (*p*) Deorumque

Neptune; by whatever title the strange gods might be denominated. The goddess Hertha, of our Saxon ancestors, seems to be no other, according to Tacitus, than the Mater Tellus of the Romans." According to this doctrine, we see in the tract on the *German Manners*, s. 43, that under the name of *Alcis*, Tacitus found that the people worshipped Castor and Pollux. In this sense, the Roman historians are to be understood, when they tell us, that savage nations worshipped Mars, and Venus, and Minerva. Under barbarous appellations they worshipped invisible powers, to whom they gave distinct functions, as the Romans did in their own religious system. It is therefore to be wished that Cæsar had collected the names ascribed by the Germans to their gods. In that case the seeming variance between him and Tacitus would, most probably, vanish. But Cæsar was engaged in an important war with Ariovistus, and he did not pierce far into Germany.

*n* Human victims were offered to Mercury (or Hesus) as the chief of the German gods, and, according to the text, certain animals were sacrificed to Mars and Hercules. The Germans were of Scythian origin, and of course, retained much of the manners of their ancestors. See Herodotus, book iv. The Celtic nations offered human victims to their gods, and, accordingly, Cæsar tells us, that the same horrible superstition prevailed among the Gauls. In threatening distempers or imminent dangers, they made no scruple to sacrifice human victims, and made use of the ministry of their druids for that purpose. They put the victims alive into a colossus of osier twigs, and all within expired in the flames. Convicts for theft, robbery, or other crimes, were thought most acceptable to the gods, and, when real criminals were not to be found, the innocent were made to suffer. Cæsar, book vi. s. 15.

*o* It may be assumed as a fact, that the Germans, at the time when Tacitus wrote his Treatise, had no representation of their gods in the human shape. Statuaries and artists did not fix their residence in those regions. It is certain, however, that in process of time, images and statues abounded in Germany.

*p* Groves devoted to superstition were frequent in Germany and in Gaul. Mention is made, *Annals*, ii. s. 12, of a wood sacred to Hercules. The forest of Barduhenna occurs. *Annals*, iv. s. 73. and in the *History*, iv. s. 14, Tacitus describes a sacred grove.

Lucan's description of a sacred grove near Marseilles, in the third book of the *Pharsalia*, is well known to the classic scholar. The rites of a barbarous worship, and the impression made on the mind by the



nominibus adpellant secretum illud, quod sola reverentia vident. Auspicia, sortesque, (*q*) ut qui maxime, observant.

X. Sortium consuetudo simplex: virgam, frugiferæ arbori deciduam, in surculos amputant, eosque: notis quibusdam discretos, super candidam vestem temere ac fortuito spargunt: mox, si publice consulatur, Sacerdos civitatis, sin privatim, ipse paterfamilias, (*r*) precatus Deos, cœlumque suspiciens, ter singulos tollit, sublatis, secundum impressam ante notam, interpretatur. Si prohibuerunt, nulla de eadem re in eundem diem consultatio; sin permissum, auspicioꝝ adhuc fides exigitur. Et illud quidem etiam hic notum, avium voces volatusque interrogare: proprium gentis, equorum (*s*) quoque præsagia ac monitus experiri: publice aluntur iisdem nemoribus ac lucis candidi, et nullo mortali opere contacti: quos pressos sacro curru Sacerdos, ac Rex, vel Princeps civitatis, comitantur, hinnitusque ac fremitus observant. Nec ulli auspicio major fides, non solum apud plebem, sed apud proce-

gloom of a thick forest, are there displayed with a masterly hand; but, perhaps, Seneca has given the philosophical and true reason. He says, if you enter a dark wood, where high embowering trees exclude the light of the sun, the prodigious growth and lofty majesty of the wood, the solitude of the place, and the deep impenetrable gloom, all conspire to impress an awful stillness, and to fill the mind with ideas of the invisible power of a superior Being. Seneca, epist. 41.

*q* The Scythians, according to Herodotus, book iv. had their divining twigs. The manner in which they were used, is explained by Saxo Grammaticus, *Hist. of Denmark*, book xiv. who says, that the Rugians, a people bordering on the Baltic Sea, threw into their bosoms three pieces of wood, partly white, and partly black; the former denoting success, and the latter adverse fortune.

*r* Cæsar says, b. i. s. 50. that, among the Gauls, the matrons of the family presided to decide by lots and divination. The case, undoubtedly, was the same in Germany.

*s* Instances of this superstition are recorded among the Persians. Darius was elected king by the neighing of a horse. Herodotus, b. iii. The same author, b. i. mentions a number of white horses considered as sacred by Cyrus and his army. Justin relates the election of Darius in the following manner. The competitors for the regal diadem agreed, that, on a stated day, the horses of the several candidates should be drawn out before the palace, and he, whose horse was first heard neighing, should be chosen king. The reason of this ceremony was the persuasion of the Persians, who believed the sun to be the only god, and that all horses were consecrated to him. Justin, b. i. s. 10. In the isle of Rugen a priest took auspices from a white horse, as appears in Saxo Grammaticus, *Danish History*, b. xiv.

res, apud Sacerdotes. Se enim ministros Deorum, illos conscios putant. Est et alia observatio auspiorum, qua gravium bellorum eventus explorant. Ejus gentis, cum qua bellum est, captivum, quoquo modo interceptum, cum electo popularium suorum, patriis quemque armis, committunt: (t) victoria hujus vel illius pro præjudicio accipitur.

XI. De minoribus rebus Principes consultant; de majoribus omnes: (u) ita tamen, ut ea quoque, quorum penes plebem arbitrium est, apud Principes pertractentur. Coeunt, nisi quid fortuitum et subitum inciderit, certis diebus, cum aut inchoatur luna, aut impletur, (v) nam agendis rebus hoc auspicatissimum initium credunt. Nec dierum numerum, ut nos, sed noctium computant. Sic constituunt, sic condicunt: nox ducere diem videtur. Illud ex libertate vitium, quod non simul, nec ut jussi conveniunt, sed et alter et tertius dies cunctatione coeuntium absumitur. Ut

t Montesquieu observes, that this was the origin of duelling, and also of the heroic madness of knight errantry. It was considered by the superstition of the times as an appeal to heaven. In a fierce and warlike nation, like the Germans, whole families waged war on one another for every species of injury. To modify so savage a custom, the combat was fought under the eye of the magistrate, and, in that manner, private as well as public affairs were determined. The proof by battle was established, and with more eagerness, as it excluded perjury. Judicial combat was the mode of trial that afterwards prevailed all over Europe. Witnesses and *compurgators* were obliged to support their evidence by the decision of the sword. Ecclesiastics, women, minors, the aged and infirm, could not be expected to enter the lists, and were therefore obliged to produce their champions. The custom in England was called *wager of battle*.

u Montesquieu is of opinion, that in this Treatise on the Manners of the Germans, an attentive reader may trace the origin of the British constitution. That beautiful system, he says, was found in the forests of Germany. *Spirit of Laws*, b. xi. ch. 6.

v The power and influence of the moon on all human affairs, has been a notion adopted by the credulity and superstition of every age and nation. Ariovistus, according to Julius Cæsar, book i. s. 50, was forbid to hazard a battle before the new moon. The commentator on the passage in Cæsar adds, that by a law of Lycurgus, the Spartan army was not to take the field before the full moon; and Vespasian, to take advantage of religious prejudices, attacked the Jews on the Sabbath day. See in the *Annals*, b. i. s. 28, a panic in the army, occasioned by an eclipse of the moon. The elder Pliny, b. ii. s. 99, sets forth the extravagant powers attributed to the same planet. In this enlightened age, some traces of the same superstition still remain.

turbæ placuit, considunt armati. (w) Silentium per Sacerdotes, quibus tum et coercendi jus est, imperatur. Mox Rex, vel Princeps, prout ætas cuique, prout nobilitas, prout decus bellorum, prout facundia est, audiuntur, auctoritate suadendi magis, quam jubendi potestate. (x) Si displicuit sententia, fremitu adspernantur, sin placuit, fræneas concutiunt. Honoratissimum adsensus genus est, armis laudare.

XII. Licet apud concilium adcusare quoque et discrimen capitis intendere. Distinctio pœnarum ex delicto: proditores et transfugas arboribus suspendunt: ignavos et inbelles (y) et corpore infames, cœno ac palude, injecta in super crate, mergunt. Diversitas supplicii illuc respicit, tamquam scelera ostendi oporteat, dum puniuntur, flagitia

w In the excellent translation of Monsieur Mallet's *Northern Antiquities*, we see the same custom observed by the Danes. They still show the places where they chose their kings, their generals, and also deliberated on the most important affairs. There are remaining three monuments of this custom, the one near Lunden, in Scania, the other at Leyra, or Lethra, in Zealand, and the third near Viburg, in Jutland. "These monuments, whose rude bulk has preserved them from the ravages of time, are vast unhewn stones, twelve in number, set upright and placed in the form of a circle. In the middle is a stone much larger than the rest, on which they made a seat for their king. The other stones served as a barrier to keep off the populace. The principal chiefs mounted on those stones, and with a loud voice delivered their opinions; then the soldiers, who stood in crowds about them, signified their approbation or assent by clashing their shields together in a kind of cadence, or by raising certain shouts." Stonehenge is said to be a monument of the same custom. See Camden's *Britannia*, by Gibson, p. 95.

x From this it is evident that all the States of Germany were not governed by kings. The chief of the community implies a republican magistrate. The word *civitas* does not mean a city, but a State, a people, a body politic. In those States, where all important matters were discussed by the people in their collective body, no wonder that the man who possessed the powers of persuasion should be the leading demagogue. The oratory of the savage was unpolished, but it was animated by the emotions of the heart; and the heart is the source of forcible and commanding eloquence.

y The cowards here intended were, most probably, those who offered to attend a chief to the wars as his faithful followers, and afterwards deserted. Men of that description were accounted infamous. Cæsar, b. vi. s. 22. By a law of the Lombards, the freeman, who was summoned to defend his country against a foreign invasion, and refused to carry arms in that pressing exigence, was adjudged guilty of a capital crime, and suffered as a traitor.



abscondi. (z) Sed et levioribus delictis, pro modo, pœna: equorum pecorumque numero convicti multantur: (a) pars multæ Regi, vel civitati, pars ipsi, qui vindicatur, vel propinquis ejus exsolvitur. Eliguntur in iisdem conciliis et Principes, (b) qui jura per pagos vicosque reddant. Centeni singulis ex plebe comites, consilium simul et auctoritas, adsunt.

XIII. Nihil autem neque publicæ neque privatæ rei,

z The Germans distinguished the crimes which were prejudicial to the State, such as treason and desertion, from cowardice, which they ranked with those unnatural passions that ought never to be heard of in society. The enemy of his country was punished as a public example. Private vices, in themselves base and flagitious, were considered as disgraceful to the guilty, not as an extensive mischief, and therefore swept away from the notice and the memory of man. Ignominious offenders were suffocated in mud, and their bodies were concealed from sight, to be forgotten as soon as possible. This distinction of crimes and punishments continued so long, that, by a law of the Burgundians, the wife, who proved false to her husband, was in like manner put to death in the mud. *Burgundian Laws*, tit. xxxiv.

a In the list of crimes, for which a fine or composition was allowed, homicide, adultery, theft, and other personal injuries were included. See this Tract, s. 21. The laws, which the Germans establish in their new settlements, when they quitted their forests, and overran all Europe, are the best commentary on Tacitus. They confirm him in every thing material. A race of barbarians, issuing from their woods and marshes, and bearing down all before them, would naturally bring with them their primitive ideas, and transfuse them into all the laws established in the conquered country. Whoever will be at the pains of examining their code of laws, will soon perceive, that in their various fines for offences committed, they attended altogether to the quantity of the damage, the malice expressed or implied by the deed, and the rank of the person injured.

The fine in Germany was a mulct of cattle, the only riches of the country; but in process of time, when the Roman empire was overturned, and the invaders became acquainted with money, the fines were pecuniary. By the Ripuarian laws, instead of the penal sum, called the *weregild*, the composition might be made in cattle, at the option of the offender.

b The whole country of Germany was divided into different States. In some of these monarchy was established, and in others the republican form of government. The former submitted to kings; the latter had their chiefs. In Germany the leader of armies was elective. In each State or tribe, the divisions were, 1st, the people; 2dly, the cantons, or shires, as they are called in Britain; 3dly, the vici, or hundreds. Magistrates were chosen in general conventions of the people, to preside in the several cantons and hundreds.

nisi armati agunt. (c) Sed arma sumere non ante cuiquam moris, quam civitas suffecturum probaverit. Tum in ipso concilio, vel Principum aliquis, vel pater, vel propinquus, scuto frameaque juvenem ornant: (d) hæc apud illos toga, (e) hic primus juventæ honos: ante hoc domus pars videntur, mox Reipublicæ. Insignis nobilitas, aut magna patrum merita, Principis dignationem etiam adolescentulis adsignant: ceteris robustioribus ac jam pridem probatis adgregantur: nec rubor, inter comites adspici. Gradus quin etiam et ipse comitatus habet, iudicio ejus, quem sectantur: magnæque et comitum æmulatio, quibus primus

c The custom of wearing swords on all occasions prevailed in every country where the Germans took possession. That the magistrates never went armed, is to be ascribed to the clergy, who, for many centuries, presided in the courts of justice. The Romans, it is well known, never wore their swords but in time of war, or upon a journey.

d This seems to be the origin of chivalry, that famous institution, which spread over the greatest part of Europe in the eleventh century. It is related of Charlemagne, that he gave a sword with great pomp and solemnity to his son, prince Louis. La Bletterie says, that a ceremony, little different from that now before us, is still subsisting in many parts of Germany. When a young page has passed the time of life for his employment, the prince whom he served gives a grand entertainment, and, in the presence of his courtiers, receives homage from his page, and then girds a sword on his side, and sometimes makes him a present of a horse. This is called *giving the right to carry arms*. Brétier observes, that the sons of kings often received a present of arms from a foreign state; and, in conformity to that custom, Audoin, after a signal victory, was desired by the Lombards to admit his son, who had signalized his valour in the field of battle, to dine at the same table with his father; but the conqueror made answer, that it could not be till the young prince received a sword from some foreign potentate. Warnefrid *De Gestis Langobardorum*, lib. i. s. 23.

e When the young men of Rome attained the age of seventeen years, they changed their dress called the *prætexta*, for the *toga virilis*, the manly gown. On that occasion the youth was conducted by his friends into the Forum (or sometimes into the Capitol,) where, with much solemnity, he changed his habit, and the day was called *dies tirocinii*, or the day on which he was capable of being a *cadet* in the army. The young German was, in like manner, introduced to the public by his relations. He then received a shield and a spear, and this is properly compared to the manly gown of the Romans. The same ceremony was observed by the Scandinavians. At the age of fifteen their young men became their own masters, by receiving a sword, a buckler, and a lance, and this was performed in some public meeting. See *Northern Antiquities*, vol. i. p. 197.

apud Principem suum locus : et Principum, cui plurimi et acerrimi comites. Hæc dignitas, (*f*) hæc vires, magno semper electorum juvenum globo circumdari, in pace decus, in bello præsidium. Nec solum in sua gente cuique, sed apud finitimas quoque civitates id nomen, ea gloria est, si numero ac virtute comitatus emineat : expetuntur enim legationibus, et muneribus ornantur, et ipsa plerumque fama bella profligant.

XIV. Cum ventum in aciem, turpe Principi, virtute vinci, turpe comitatu, virtutem Principis non adæquare. Jam vero infame in omnem vitam ac probrosum, superstitem Principi suo ex acie recessisse. (*g*) Illum defendere, tueri, sua quoque fortia facta gloriæ ejus adsignare, præcipuum sacramentum est. Principes pro victoria pugnant ; comites pro Principe. Si civitas, in qua orti sunt, longa pace et otio torpeat ; plerique nobilium adolescentium petunt ultro eas nationes, quæ tum bellum aliquod gerunt ; (*h*) quia et ingrata genti quies, et facilius inter ancipitia clarescant, magnumque comitatum non nisi vi belloque tueantur : exigunt enim Principis sui liberalitate illum bellatorem equum, illam cruentam victricemque frameam. (*i*) Nam

*f* War was the ruling passion of all the northern nations. Among such a people it cannot be matter of wonder, that the chief, who led them on to danger and heroic fortitude, should be idolized by the soldiers. In Gaul, the warrior had a train of clients and followers in proportion to his fame in arms : that was the only mark of grandeur known amongst them. Cæsar, b. vi. s. 14.

*g* When Chonodomarus, king of the Alamanni, was taken prisoner by the Romans, his military companions, to the number of two hundred, and three of the king's most intimate friends, thinking it a flagitious crime to live in safety after such an event, surrendered themselves to be loaded with fetters. Ammian. Marcellin. b. xvi. c. 13, There are instances of the same kind in Tacitus.

*h* It appears from Cæsar's account, that they had another way of exercising their courage, when their nation was in a state of profound peace. They deemed it highly honourable to lay waste the country all around their frontier, conceiving that, to extirminate their neighbours, and suffer none to settle near them, was a proof of valour. They had still another kind of employment : robbery had nothing infamous in it when committed out of the territories of the state to which they belonged ; they considered it as a practice of great use, tending to exercise their youth, and prevent sloth and idleness. Cæsar, b. vi. s. 22

*i* From the liberality of the chieftain in granting presents to his followers, Montesquieu deduces the origin of vassalage. Fiefs, or feudal allotments of land, did not subsist in Germany. The chiefs or



epulæ, et, quamquam incompti, largi tamen adparatus pro stipendio cedunt: materia munificentiæ per bella et raptus. Nec arare terram, aut exspectare annum, tam facile persuaseris, quam vocare hostes et vulnera mereri: pigrum quinimmo et iners videtur, sudore acquirere, quod possis sanguine parare.

XV. Quotiens bella non ineunt, multum venatibus, plus per otium transigunt, (j) dediti somno ciboque. Fortissimus quisque ac bellicosissimus nihil agens, delegata domus et Penatium et agrorum cura feminis senibusque et infirmissimo cuique ex familia: ipsi hebent: mira diversitate naturæ, cum idem homines sic ament inertiam et oderint quietem. Mos est civitatibus, ultro ac viritim conferre Principibus, vel armentorum, vel frugum, (k) quod pro

princes had nothing to bestow but arms and horses; feasts and plenty of provisions. This was the whole wealth of the German warrior in his own country; this was what he imparted freely to his followers. In process of time, when those fierce invaders took possession of large tracts of the conquered countries, the followers of the chiefs, no longer content with feasts, and presents of horses and arms, demanded allotments of lands, which at first, were beneficiary only, and afterwards for life. In time they became hereditary, with conditions of military service annexed to the grant. Hence the origin of the Feudal System. *Spirit of Laws*, b. xxx. ch. 3 and 4. See Dr. Robertson, *Charles V.* p. 260, 263. See Abbe Millot, *Elemens de l'Histoire de France*, vol. i. p. 190.

j The literal meaning of the original is, They do not pass much of their time in hunting, but more of it in sluggish idleness. *Non multum venatibus, plus per otium transigunt.* This, at the first blush, seems to contradict Cæsar, who says, book vi. s. 20, their whole life is addicted to hunting and war. To reconcile the two authors, Lipsius, and others since his time, propose to leave out of the original text the negative word *non*. This, perhaps, would be right, but the meaning of the passage is clear without any alteration. They hunted during a few months of the year, and then gave up all their time to the sports of the chase. In that pursuit consisted their actual employment. The rest of the year was loitered away in sleep and wine.

k Brotier finds in this passage the origin of tributes, by which he must be understood to mean voluntary contributions. The Romans imposed a tribute, and other imposts under various names of *stipendia* and *vectigalia*, on all the conquered provinces. In Germany, where no man had a fixed possession of lands, and property was disregarded, the chieftains were obliged to maintain their followers or companions in war. But plunder and rapine were the only revenue of the chief. To enable him, however, to support his rank, the different states (Civitates) sent him voluntary presents of corn and cattle. When migrations were afterwards spread over Europe, the soldiers, after every victory, claimed their share of booty, and soon obtained a

honore acceptum, etiam necessitatibus subvenit. Gaudent præcipue finitimarum gentium donis, quæ non modo a singulis, sed publice mittuntur : electi equi, magna arma, phaleræ, torquesque. (l) Jam et pecuniam accipere docuimus. (m)

XVI. Nullas Germanorum populis urbes habitari, (n) satis notum est : ne pati quidem inter se junctas sedes. Colunt discreti ac diversi, ut fons, ut campus, ut nemus placuit. Vicos locant, non in nostrum morem, connexis et cohærentibus ædificiis : suam quisque domum spatio circumdat, (o) sive adversus casus ignis remedium, sive insci-

portion of lands, but those lands were for the benefit of the individual, and at first for a year only. When they were made estates for life, and afterwards hereditary, every tenant of a certain portion of land was bound to attend the king in his army for forty days every year. That personal attendance growing troublesome, the tenants compounded with the crown for a pecuniary satisfaction, which in time, was levied by assessments, under the name of *scutage*, *tallia-ges*, or *subsides*. But even these were not to be levied without the consent of the common council of the realm. King John was obliged so to declare in his *Magna Charta*. See Blackstone, vol. i. p. 309 and 310.

l These military presents were not peculiar to the Germans. The Romans had their civic crown, and other marks of distinction. Pliny the Elder relates, that Siccus Dentatus, tribune of the people under the consulship of Sp. Tarpeius and Aul. Aterius, A. U. C. 400, not long after the expulsion of the Tarquins, was engaged in one hundred and twenty battles, and returned with five and forty wounds, all honourably received in front, and not one behind, and that for his valour he received eighteen lances, twenty-five rich accoutrements, three gold chains, and twenty-six civic or mural crowns. Pliny, b. vii. s. 28.

m This was a dangerous lesson, which has been followed in every age and country. Herodian says of the Germans in his time, that they were greedy of money, and always ready for gold to barter a peace with the Romans. Herod. lib. vi.

n Ptolemy, who published his System of Geography under the Antonines, near half a century after Tacitus, reckons no less than ninety cities in Germany ; but those cities must be understood to be a number of huts, like those of the American savages. Ammianus Marcellinus, an author more to be relied upon, who wrote the history of the Roman wars in Germany, does not mention a single city. He says, on the contrary, that the Germans beheld the Roman cities with an eye of contempt, and called them so many sepulchres encompassed with nets. *Oppida ut circumdata retiis busta declinant*. Marcell. lib. xvi. c. 2. The idea of regular cities was not known in Germany till after the time of Charlemagne. See Cluverius, *Germania Antiqua*, lib. i.

o The vacant space of ground which encompassed the house, was

tia ædificandi. Ne cæmentorum quidem apud illos aut tegularum usus : materia ad omnia utuntur informi et citra speciem aut delectationem. Quædam loca diligentius inlinunt terra, ita pura ac splendente, ut picturam ac lineamenta colorum imitetur. Solent et subterraneos specus aperire, eosque multo insuper fimo onerant, suffugium hiemi et receptaculum frugibus : quia rigorem frigorum ejusmodi locis molliunt : et, si quando hostis advenit, aperta populatur, abdita autem et defossa aut ignorantur, aut eo ipso fallunt, quod quærenda sunt.

XVII. Tegumen omnibus sagum, (*p*) fibula, aut, si desit, spina consertum : cetera intacti totos dies juxta focum atque ignem agunt. Locupletissimi veste distinguuntur, non fluitante, sicut Sarmatæ ac Parthi, sed stricta et singulos artus exprimente. (*q*) Gerunt et ferarum pelles, proximi ripæ negligenter, ultiores exquisitius, ut quibus nullus per commercia cultus. Eligunt feras et detracta velamina spargunt maculis pellibusque belluarum, quas exterior Oceanus atque ignotum mare gignit. (*r*) Nec alius feminis quam viris habitus, nisi quod feminæ sæpius lineis amictibus velantur, eosque purpura variant, partemque vestitus superioris in manicas non extendunt, nudæ brachia ac la-

that celebrated *Salic land* that descended to the male issue, and never to the female line.

*p* This mantle, or *sagum*, is often called *Rheno* by Latin authors. The reason is given by Cæsar, who says, that the Germans are clothed in the skins of animals called *Rhenones*; but the mantle was so short, that it left the greatest part of the body naked. Cæsar, b. vi. s. 20. See a similar account of the Suevians, the most warlike of all the German nations, Cæsar, b. iv. s. 1; and see Pomponius Mela, b. iii. s. 3. Whoever would know more of the German dresses, will find a full account in Pelloutier, *Histoire des Celts*, b. ii. s. 6.

*q* Cluverius, the celebrated geographer, in his *Germania Antiqua*, describes the tight dresses of the Germans, in such plain terms, as will not, in point of delicacy, admit of a translation. The loose attire of the Sarmatians was, however, adopted by some of the German settlers on the western side of the Rhine.

*r* The people bordering on the Baltic, and also on the Northern Ocean, called by Tacitus the Exterior Sea, were not only curious in their choice of furs, but studious to embellish them with shells and shining stones, and fragments of the scales of the various fish found in those seas. According to Cluverius, the women in Saxony, in Prussia, Livonia, and in general throughout Germany, wear shifts without sleeves, and leave the bosom bare.



certos : sed et proxima pars pectoris patet : quamquam se-  
vera illic matrimonia. (s)

XVIII. Nec ullam morum partem magis laudaveris :  
nam prope soli barbarorum singulis uxoribus contenti sunt,  
exceptis admodum paucis, qui non libidine, sed ob nobili-  
tatem, plurimis nuptiis ambiuntur. Dotem non uxor ma-  
rito, sed uxori maritus, offert. Intersunt parentes et pro-  
pinqui, ac munera probant : munera non ad delicias mulie-  
bres quæsitæ, nec quibus nova nupta comatur ; sed boves  
et frenatum equum et scutum cum framea gladioque. In  
hæc munera uxor accipitur : atque invicem ipsa armorum  
aliquid viro adfert : hoc maximum vinculum, hæc arcana  
sacra, hos conjugales Deos arbitrantur. Ne se mulier ex-  
tra virtutum cogitationes extraque bellorum casus putet,  
ipsis incipientis matrimonii auspiciis admonetur, venire se  
laborum periculorumque sociam, idem in pace, idem in  
prælio passuram ausuramque : hoc juncti boves, hoc pa-  
ratus equus, hoc data arma denuntiant. Sic vivendum, sic  
pereundum : accipere se, quæ liberis inviolata ac digna  
reddat, (t) quæ nurus accipiant, rursusque ad nepotes re-  
ferant.

s In this passage Tacitus seizes the opportunity to commend the noble simplicity of the German marriages, in order to pass a pointed censure on the nuptial ceremonies established at Rome, and the facility with which both sexes violated the marriage vow. Montesquieu, in his compendious manner, has shown the progress of vice till it triumphed over the office of the censor, and established an entire corruption of manners. The civil wars reduced the number of citizens ; and of those that remained, few were married. Julius Cæsar and Augustus passed their laws against celibacy, called by Tacitus, *Annals*, b. iii. s. 25, the Julian statutes, and by him declared to be a feeble remedy. See *Spirit of Laws*, b. xxiii. ch. 21. The lines of Horace stating the same complaint need not be quoted. The indignation of Juvenal in his sixth satire is sufficiently known. The simplicity and virtue of the marriage contract among the tribes of Germany are given by Tacitus as a striking contrast to the depravity of Roman manners. The instances in which a plurality of wives was indulged, occurred but seldom, and even then were founded on special reasons. Thus we read that Ariovistus had two wives : the first of the Suevian nation : the second, the sister of a king, who courted the alliance of that German warrior. Cæsar, b. i. s. 53. Montesquieu assigns the same reason for the number of wives among the kings of the first race. *Spirit of Laws*, b. xviii. ch. 24.

t By a law of the Saxons, if a woman have male issue, she is to possess the portion she received in marriage during her life, and transmit it to her sons. *Leges Saxonum*, tit. vii. *De Doçe*.

XIX. Ergo septæ pudicitia agunt, nullis spectaculorum inlecebris, nullis conviviorum inritationibus corruptæ. (*u*) Litterarum secreta viri pariter ac feminæ ignorant. (*v*) Paucissima in tam numerosa gente adulteria; quorum pœna præsens, et maritis permissa. (*w*) Accisis crinibus, (*x*) nudatam, coram propinquis, expellit domo maritus, ac per omnem vicum verberare agit: publicatæ enim pudicitiae nulla venia: non forma, non ætate, non opibus maritum invenit. Nemo enim illic vitia ridet; nec, conrumpere et conrumpi, sæculum vocatur. Melius quidem adhuc eæ civitates, in quibus tantum virgines nubunt, (*y*) et cum spe

*u* Seneca considers public spectacles as so many places of seduction. Nothing, he says, is so dangerous as loitering at such diversions, for, when the heart is softened by pleasure, the passions stand ready for the admission of every vice. How is this to be understood? I return from those places more avaricious, more ambitious, more luxurious. Senec. ep. vii.

*v* Maroboduus and Adgandestrius, two German kings, are supposed to have been able to write, since their letters to Rome are mentioned, *Annals*, b. iii. s. 63, and 88; but their countrymen in general were rude and illiterate. Many centuries passed before reading and writing came into general use. In the middle ages, kings and warriors were not able to write; and it is well known that in Britain a lord of parliament, was, by law, entitled to his *clergy*, though he could not read.

*w* By a law of the Visigoths, if a woman was guilty of adultery, but not taken in the fact, it was competent to her husband to accuse her before the magistrate; and if the charge was supported by evidence, both the offenders were delivered over to the husband, to be dealt with as he should think proper. If the husband killed both in the fact, it was justifiable. *Laws of the Visigoths*, tit. *De Adulteriis*, lex. 3.

*x* The hair long and flowing was considered as an ornament, and therefore by the Salic law, tit. xxviii. to cut off the hair of an innocent person, was an injury severely punished. In some parts of what is now Westphalia, the women took upon them to execute justice on the adulteress, following her with stripes from village to village, and with small knives inflicting wounds, till they left the offender breathless, or at the point of death.

*y* The facility with which divorces were obtained at Rome, introduced an indefinite right of renouncing one marriage and embracing another, as often as caprice or a new passion dictated. The letter of the law was observed, but the spirit was grossly counteracted. *Lusus erat sacræ connubia fallere tædæ*, says Martial; and the same author, in an excellent epigram, tells us that the Julian law against adultery was revived, and yet, in less than thirty days, Thelesina married her tenth husband; if that may be called a marriage, which in fact was no better than a legal adultery.

votoque uxoris semel transigitur. Sic unum accipiunt maritum, quo modo unum corpus unamque vitam, ne ulla cogitatio ultra, ne longior cupiditas, ne tamquam maritum, sed tamquam matrimonium, ament. Numerum liberorum finire, aut quemquam ex agnatis necare, (z) flagitium habetur: plusque ibi boni mores valent, quam alibi bonæ leges.

XX. In omni domo nudi ac sordidi, (a) in hos artus, in hæc corpora, quæ miramur, excrescunt. (b) Sua quemque mater uberibus alit, nec ancillis ac nutricibus delegantur. Dominum ac servum nullis educationis deliciis dignoscas. Inter eadem pecora, in eadem humo degunt: donec ætas separet ingenuos, virtus agnoscat. (c) Sera ju-

Chastity was in higher respect among the tribes of Germany. According to Valerius Maximus, the Cimbrian women who marched with the army into Italy, were all virgins, and assigned that reason to Marius, when they made it their request to be admitted into the vestal order.

z Great latitude was allowed by the Roman law to the paternal authority. The father, contrary to all the rights of nature, had an absolute jurisdiction over his children. He could condemn them to death. Such a power, nothing short of absolute dominion, gave birth to a train of evils. Infants were abandoned, thrown into rivers, and exposed to wild beasts. See Minucius Felix, in *Octavio*, cap. 50.

a Justin says of the Scythians, Justice is cultivated in that country more through the disposition of the people, than by declaratory laws. *Justitia gentis ingenio culla, non legibus.* Justin, b. ii. ch. 3. The same writer adds, It is altogether astonishing that natural instinct should teach a savage race, what neither moral wisdom, nor the precepts of philosophy, could establish in Greece. Elegant manners yielded to uninstructed nature. Ignorance of vice did more among barbarians than all the boasted systems of a polished nation. Justin, lib. ii. s. 2.

b Seneca, on the subject of training a youth in the way he is to follow, says, if he was born in Germany, he would, even in his infancy, brandish his little javelin. In another work, he mentions the promptitude of the German mind; the love of arms, to which they are born and bred, their patience and firmness under every hardship; and their neglect of all covering for their bodies, while they have no retreat to shelter them from the inclemency of the weather.

c The age of manhood seems to have commenced at the end of their twelfth year. Stout and well-grown boys were capable of bearing arms, in a country where the soldier was equipped with light armour. Hence King Theodoric says, It is absurd that the young men, who are fit for military service, should be deemed incapable of conducting themselves. Valour fixes the age of manhood.



venum Venus; eoque inexhausta pubertas: nec virgines festinantur; eadem juvenia, similis proceritas: pares validæque miscentur: (*d*) ac robora parentum liberi referunt. Sororum filiis idem apud avunculum, qui apud patrem honor. Quidam sanctiorem arctioremque hunc nexum sanguinis arbitrantur, et in accipiendis obsidibus magis exigunt; tamquam ii et animum firmitus, et domum latius, teneant. Heredes tamen successoresque sui cuique liberi: (*e*) et nullum testamentum. Si liberi non sunt, proxi-

He, who is able to pierce the foe, ought to combat every vice. See Cassiodorus, *Epist.* 1.

*d* Tacitus uses the words, *pares validæque miscentur*, that is, they are married equal and robust. Brotier understands the expression as applying to the equality of conditions, or a marriage among persons of equal rank; and he cites laws from the German code, annexing penalties to those of both sexes who marry persons of inferior rank. But the equality here intended by Tacitus, seems from the context to be no other than maturity of years in the contracting parties. The distinctions of rank, which took place among the Franks in Gaul, were unknown to the German tribes in their own country.

*e* Thus we see that, by custom (the unwritten law of the Germans,) the females were excluded from the succession to the lands of their deceased father. What those lands were is clearly explained by Montesquieu. While the Franks, he says, lived in their own country, their whole stock consisted of slaves, herds of cattle, horses, arms, and accoutrements. Lands for cultivation were assigned to them by the state for a year only, and after that time it was resumed by the public. What then were the lands to which the male issue succeeded? Every hut or cabin had a precinct of ground, and that was the estate that descended to the sons, or went in the male line. It was called Salic land, because the mansion of a German was called Sal, and the space inclosing it Salbac, the homestead. When the Franks issued from their own country, and gained possessions in Gaul, they still continued to give to their new settlements the name of Salic land; and hence, the law of the Franks that regulated the course of descent, was called the Salic Law. Rapin has left us an elaborate dissertation on the subject. He takes notice of two different editions of the Salic law; but the last, it seems, is not correct. From the former, Rapin states six rules of succession to land property. 1. If a man dies without issue, his father or his mother shall inherit. 2. If he leaves neither father nor mother, his brother or his sister shall succeed. 3. If there is no surviving brother or sister, the sister of his mother shall be entitled. 4. If the mother has left no sister, the sister of the father shall succeed. 5. If the father has left no sister, the next relation of the male line shall have the estate. 6. No part of the Salic land shall pass to the females; but the whole inheritance descends to the male line, that is, the sons shall be entitled to the

mus gradus in possessione fratres, patruī, avunculi. Quanto plus propinquorum, quo major adfinium numerus, tanto gratiosior senectus, nec ulla orbitatis pretia.

XXI. Suscipere tam inimicitias, seu patris, seu propinqui, quam amicitias, necesse est : (*f*) nec inplacabiles durant. Luitur enim etiam homicidium certo armentorum ac pecorum numero, (*g*) recipitque satisfactionem universa

succession. Rapin has entered into a long discussion, but Montesquieu was master of his subject, and with the brevity of Tacitus, has placed the whole in the clearest light. The rule among the Germans in their own country was, that the Salic land should go to the sword, and not to the distaff. The daughters were excluded, because they passed by marriage into other families. The Salic law was founded on the customs and manners of Germany. If the father left children, the daughters were excluded, and the right of inheritance vested in the sons. The well known law of the French monarchy, which excludes the female line from the succession to the crown, had its origin in the woods of Germany. It is true that, in process of time, the law of the Franks gave way to the civil law; and women, though incapable of performing military duty, were allowed to succeed to fiefs, which, for that reason, were called improper fiefs. The Salic law lost its force in France, except as to the succession to the crown, in which respect it has remained inflexible from the earliest period of the monarchy to the present time. *Spirit of Laws*, b. xviii. ch. 22. See also Rapin's Dissertation.

*f* In the rude state of society, before men had any notion of an umpire or magistrate to decide their differences, it was natural that every man should exercise a right to repel injuries from himself and his family. It was also natural that he should demand atonement from the wrong-doer. Resentment is an active principle in the frame of man. In the minds of savages it inflamed a spirit of revenge. Their relations, their friends and their clan, joined in the quarrel. Whole tribes waged war against each other for the sake of an individual. Ties of consanguinity and the sentiments of social affection, contributed to aggravate the mischief. Every rude uncivilized state was filled with intestine broils. It was the pride of a German to expect redress from the vigour of his own arm. And yet we see some rudiments of civil society among the ancient Germans. They began to form an idea of a public interest in the preservation of peace. We have seen in this tract, s. xii. that a composition for offences was made by a mulct of cattle, and that the king or chiefs of the State received a fine for the violation of the public peace. The savage, who before that time depended on his own martial vigour, was willing to resign his resentment to the direction of the magistrate and to receive a stated compensation. The spirit of revenge was appeased, and the *deadly feud* of course gave way to the new jurisdiction.

*g* This compromise for manslaughter and other personal injuries had the happy effect of curbing the ferocity of a barbarous race; but

domus : utiliter in publicum ; quia periculosiores sunt inimicitiae juxta libertatem. Convictibus et hospitibus non alia gens effusius indulget. (*h*) Quemcumque mortalium arcere tecto, nefas habetur ; pro fortuna quisque adparatis epulis excipit. Cum defecere, qui modo hospes fuerat, monstrator hospitii et comes, proximam domum non invitati adeunt : nec interest : pari humanitate accipiuntur. Notum ignotumque, quantum ad jus hospitii, nemo discernit. Abeunti, si quid poposcerit, concedere moris : et poscendi invicem eadem facilitas. Gaudent muneribus : sed nec data inputant, nec acceptis obligantur. Victus inter hospites comis.

XXII. Statim e somno, quem plerumque in diem extrahunt, lavantur, sæpius calida, ut apud quos plurimum hiems occupat. Lauti cibum capiunt : separatæ singulis sedes et sua cuique mensa : (*i*) tum ad negotia, nec minus sæpe ad convivia, procedunt armati. Diem noctemque continuare

still the principle of the composition was a satisfaction to the injured party. Avarice was called in to appease revenge. A debt was supposed to be due for the crime committed, and this appears to have been established in the remotest ages. This mode of composition for crimes and injuries was adopted by the various communities in Germany ; but their descendants, after their irruption into Gaul, Italy, and Spain, still claimed the right of waging private war for private injuries. Hostilities continued during a number of years, and the animosity of the contending parties laid a scene of blood. Charlemagne endeavoured by a positive law to abolish the mischief ; but the genius of one man was not sufficient to eradicate a custom so firmly established. See Robertson, *Hist. of Charles V.* vol. i. p. 54.

*h* Tacitus is confirmed by Julius Cæsar, who says, the laws of hospitality are inviolable among the Germans. Their visitors are sure of a cordial reception. Their houses are open to every guest. Book vi. s. 22.

*i* The manner in which the Romans placed themselves at table, differed from most other nations. Three couches called triclinia, were ranged in order, but so as to leave the end of the table open for the approach of the servants. Three persons lay, in effeminate luxury, on each of the couches ; sometimes four or five. Cicero, in *Pisonem*, says, there was nothing in his house neat or elegant. Five Greeks and often more, lay crowded on one couch. *Nihil apud hunc lautum, nihil elegans. Græci quini stipati in lectulis, sæpe plures.* Tacitus seems never to be better pleased, than when he has opportunity of passing an oblique censure on the manners of the Romans. Accordingly we find, that the Germans in a more manly way seated themselves each at his own table.



potando, nulli probrum. Crebræ, ut inter vinolentos, rixæ, raro conviciis, sæpius cæde et vulneribus transiguntur. (*j*) Sed et de reconciliandis invicem inimicis et jungendis adfinitatibus et adsciscendis Principibus, de pace denique ac bello, (*k*) plerumque in conviviis consultant: tamquam nullo magis tempore aut ad simplices cogitationes pateat animus, aut ad magnas incalescat. Gens non astuta, nec callida, aperit adhuc secreta pectoris licentia joci. Ergo detecta et nuda omnium mens postera die retractatur, et salva utriusque temporis ratio est. Deliberant, dum fingere nesciunt: constituunt, dum errare non possunt.

XXIII. Potui humor ex hordeo aut frumento, in quamdam similitudinem vini corruptus. Proximi ripæ et vinum mercantur. Cibi simplices: agrestia poma, recens fera, aut lac concretum. (*l*) Sine adparatu, sine blandimen-

*j* The same love of liquor, with all its consequential mischiefs, has been observed by all travellers among the savage tribes of America. Charlevoix says, the avarice of the French dealers introduced drunkenness among them, and that in the streets of Montreal, husbands, wives, fathers, mothers, brothers and sisters were frequently seen, in a state of intoxication, worrying one another with their teeth, like so many enraged wolves. Charlevoix, *Journal of a Voyage to North America*, letter viii. To suppress the evil consequences of intoxication among the Franks, the Salic law ordained, that if a man were killed at a convivial meeting, in company with five or seven, the survivors should convict one as the offender, or jointly pay the composition for his death. Tit. *De Homicidiis in Convivio factis*.

*k* Lipsius says, that, when he read Xenophon's account of the Persians (*Cyropædia*, lib. viii.) he was struck with the wonderful conformity of the eastern nations to the manners of the ancient Germans. See the speech of Civilis in a sacred grove, when all were warm with liquor. *Hist.* b. iv. s. 14. Plutarch in his *Symposiacs*, b. vii. qu. 9, observes, that it was the custom of the Greeks, as well as the Persians, to debate of state affairs at their convivial meetings. He refers to a passage in Homer, where Nestor advises Agamemnon to prepare a feast, and then hear the ablest counsellor. For this Plutarch gives a reason: There is, he says, a wineless drunkenness excited by anger, malice, ambition, and other turbulent passions; but wine rather overcomes the bad affections, and stirs and agitates the generous emotions of the heart. Among the American savages, when any business of consequence is transacted, they appoint a feast upon the occasion, of which almost the whole tribe partakes. *European Settlements in America*, vol. i. p. 178.

*l* What Tacitus calls *lac concretum*, coagulated milk, Cæsar calls by the name of cheese. *Major pars victus eorum lacte, et caseo, et carne consistit.* *De Bell. Gal.* lib. vi. s. 21. Pliny the elder wonders, that a race of men, who lived so much on milk, had not the skill

lis, expellunt famem. (*m*) Adversus sitim non eadem temperantia. Si indulseris ebrietati, suggerendo quantum concupiscunt, (*n*) haud minus facile vitiis, quam armis, vincentur.

XXIV. Genus spectaculorum unum atque in omni cœtu idem. Nudi juvenes, quibus id ludicrum est, inter gladios se atque infestas frameas saltu jaciunt. Exercitatio artem paravit, ars decorem : non in quæstum tamem, aut mercedem : quamvis audacis lasciviæ pretium est, voluptas spectantium. Aleam (*o*) (quod mirere) sobrii inter seria exer-

to make cheese. They converted it into a kind of whey and butter, and used it as an unguent. *Nat. Hist.* b. xi. s. 86. Sidonius Apollinaris, in a little poem on the Germans, tells us, that they made use of butter to oil their hair.

*m* The refinements of the culinary science were unknown to the Germans. Pomponius Mela says, that they fed on the raw flesh of animals, either recently killed, or after it was pounded in the hide by their feet and hands to some degree of softness. See Mela, b. iii. ch. 3. The Romans, on the contrary, studied the pleasures of the table, and luxury was in such vogue, that, as we are told by Pliny, the price of a triumph was not too much for a good cook. The man who by his exquisite skill could enable his master to eat up his fortune, was in the highest request. *Plin. lib. ix. s. 17.*

*n* Thus we know, that the Europeans, when they settled in North America, soon found it their interest to supply the natives with spirituous liquors. They waged a war of gin and brandy against the various tribes, some of which have been subdued and others almost totally extirpated, by their own drunkenness. See Charlevoix, letter viii. The same writer says, that a savage, being asked by a French officer what he thought the brandy, which he loved so much, was made of, gave for answer : "It is made of *tongues and hearts* ; for when I have drunk of it, I fear nothing, and I talk like an angel." Letter xxi. p. 83.

*o* The rage for gaming, which has been observed among barbarians in almost every quarter of the globe, may be accounted for without much difficulty. The life of a savage is passed in war, in hunting, fishing, and in scenes of plunder and rapine. When that employment no longer calls for his exertions, he sinks down in listless indolence. The ordinary occurrences of the day have nothing to arouse his faculties. Tired of himself and of languid apathy, he wants some object to excite and agitate his passions. Gaming answers this purpose. Every thing is put to the decision of chance ; hope and fear succeed each other ; and joy and rage, and pleasure and disappointment, excite the strongest emotions of the soul. The danger of losing his whole stock, and even his liberty, relieves the savage from the oppression under which he laboured. The deeper the play, the more his passions are alarmed ; and that inward conflict, that agitation of the mind, is the incentive that makes him delight in games of chance,

cent, tanta lucrandi perdendive temeritate, ut, cum omnia defecerunt, extremo ac novissimo jactu de libertate et de corpore contendant. Victus voluntariam servitutem adit: quamvis juvenior, quamvis robustior, adligari se ac venire patitur: ea est in re prava pervicacia: ipsi fidem vocant. Servos conditionis hujus per commercia tradunt, ut se quoque pudore victoriæ exsolvant.

XXV. Ceteris servis, non in nostrum morem, descriptis per familiam ministeriis, utuntur. Suam quisque sedem, suos Penates regit. Frumenti modum dominus, aut pecoris, aut vestis, ut colono, injungit: (*p*) et servus hactenus paret. Cetera domus officia uxor ac liberi exsequuntur, Verberare servum ac vinculis et opere coercere, rarum. Occidere solent, (*q*) non disciplina et severitate, sed inpetu et ira, ut inimicum, nisi quod inpune. Libertini (*r*) non multum supra servos sunt, raro aliquod momentum in domo, numquam in civitate; exceptis duntaxat iis gentibus, quæ

Brotier quotes a remarkable passage from St. Ambrose, who gives a lively picture of a barbarous people engaged at play. The Huns, he says, a fierce and warlike race, are always subject to a set of usurers, who lend them what they want for the purposes of gaming. They live without laws, and yet obey the laws of dice. *Et cum sine legibus vivant, aleæ solius legibus obedire.* St. Ambrose adds, that when the unsuccessful gamester has lost his all, he sets his liberty, and even his life, upon a single cast, and is accounted infamous if he does not pay his debts of honour.

*p* See in Tacitus (*Annals*, b. xiv. s. 43,) an account of Pedanius Secundus, who had fourscore servants in his family, with specific names for their several departments. This was called his city establishment, *familia urbana*. In the country the Romans had their rural slaves under different appellations. In Germany the slaves were prædial servants, not indeed at liberty, but annexed to the soil, *glebæ adscripti*. Their condition, Brotier observes, was the same as that of the vassals, or serfs, who, a few centuries ago, were so numerous in every part of Europe. The German conquerors, in imitation of the Romans, had their real slaves, while those who remained in a state of rural vassalage were called Lidi. This distinction appears in the Salic Law, tit. xxx. See in Spelman's *Glossary*, title *Villanus*. Villenage was a species of tenure manifestly derived from the Germans.

*q* A composition was paid for homicide; but still, it seems, a man might kill his slave with impunity. The Salic law provided afterwards, that he who killed the slave of another, was obliged to pay a certain fine, and the expense of the suit.

*r* The slave at Rome when manumitted, was called Libertus, and his descendants were Libertini. In process of time, when the Franks,



regnantur. (s) Ibi enim et super ingenuos et super nobiles ascendunt: apud ceteros inpares libertini libertatis argumentum sunt. (t)

XXVI. Fenus agitare et in usuras extendere, (u) ignotum; ideoque magis servatur, quam si vetitum esset. Agri, pro numero cultorum, ab universis per vices (v) occupan-

in their new possessions, became acquainted with money, the ceremony of enfranchisement was performed by striking out of the slave's hand a denarius, and from that circumstance the freedman was called Denariatus. Their rank, however, was little higher than that of a slave; and by the Ripuarian law, tit. lvii. lex. 4, if a freedman died without issue, his fortune went to the public treasury.

s As often as an opportunity offers, Tacitus has an eye to the manners of his own country. He glances, in this place, at Pallas, Narcissus, Icelus, and others of that description, who, under Claudius, Nero, and Galba, rose to the first eminence in the state. The tyranny of such men was a galling yoke to every liberal mind. Nerva, Trajan, and the Antonines, never transacted any kind of public business by the intervention of their freedmen. We are told that Adrian, seeing one of his slaves walking with a familiar air, between two senators, ordered a person to go directly and give the impudent fellow a box on the face, with this monition, "Learn more respect for those to whom you may be transferred as a slave." Tacitus informs us, that Agricola never suffered his slaves nor freedmen to play the part of agents in the affairs of his administration. See *Life of Agricola*, s. 19. It is observed by Montesquieu (*Spirit of Laws*, b. xv. ch. 18,) that the freedmen under the emperors paid their court to the weaknesses of their masters, and then taught them to reign by their vices, not their virtues. It is remarkable that the same abuse of power, that prevailed at Rome under the worst of the emperors, was also felt in those parts of Germany, where monarchy and despotism were established.

t We have here four distinct ranks; the nobles, the men of ingenuous birth, the freedmen, and the slaves. In Gaul, according to Cæsar, there were two principal orders of men, the druids and the nobles, the common people being little better than slaves. Book vi. s. 12. The Franks, in imitation of their German ancestors, had four classes of men; their nobles, their ingenuous, their Lidi, and their slaves; and this, Montesquieu observes, is clearly proved by the composition for offences proportioned to the different ranks of the several complainants. *Spirit of Laws*, b. xxx. ch. 25. See *Memoires de l'Acad. des Belles Letters*, vol. xxxvii. p. 541.

u The practice of laying out money at exorbitant interest, and exacting payment with harsh severity, was an ancient grievance at Rome, and a perpetual cause of clamour and sedition. Laws, it is true, were made at various times to suppress the mischief; but those laws were eluded, because, as Tacitus says, the public good gave way to private emolument. See *Annals*, b. vi. s. 16.

v The critics make it a question, whether it should be *per vices* or

tur, quos mox inter se, secundum dignationem, partiuntur : facilitatem patiendi camporum spatia præstant. Arva per annos mutant : et superest ager : nec enim cum ubertate et amplitudine soli labore contendunt, ut pomaria conserant et prata separent et hortos rigent : sola terræ seges imperatur. Unde annum quoque ipsum non in totidem digerunt species : hiems et ver et æstas intellectum ac vocabula habent : autumnus perinde nomen ac bona ignorantur. (*w*)

XXVII. Funerum nulla ambitio : (*x*) id solum observatur, ut corpora clarorum virorum certis lignis cremantur. Struunt rogi nec vestibibus, nec odoribus, cumulant : sua

*per vicos*. But whether we understand that the Germans cultivated the lands by turns, or removed to different places, the difference does not seem to be material. It is, however, ascertained by Cæsar, that the magistrates portioned out yearly to every canton or family a quantity of land in what part of the country they thought proper, and in the next year removed to some other spot. Many reasons are assigned for this practice ; lest seduced by habit and continuance, they should learn to prefer tillage to war ; lest a desire of enlarging their possessions should prevail, and prompt the stronger to expel the weaker ; lest they should become curious in their buildings, in order to guard against the extremes of heat and cold ; lest avarice should get footing among them ; and, in fine, to preserve contentment and equanimity among the people, when they find their possessions nothing inferior to those of the most powerful. *De Bell. Gall.* lib. vi. s. 21.

*w* In the first ages of the world, the year was distinguished by two seasons only. Moses mentions seed-time and harvest, summer and winter. *Genesis*, ch. viii. In process of time, the exertions of industry marked out other periods ; but all that the Germans wanted of the earth was corn and grain, and, the harvest being over, they had no fruits to expect in autumn. Brotier says, the Germans at this day have no distinct word in their language for the autumnal season. The term that satisfies them is Herbst, harvest. Beyond that period, the ancient Germans knew no productions of the earth, having neither orchards nor fruit-trees ; and accordingly the Anglo-Saxon language has no name for autumn. That word in English was borrowed from the Latin. The *fall of the leaf* is a paraphrastical expression, denoting that season of the year by the decay of nature, not by the maturity of her fruits.

*x* The simplicity of the Germans is placed by Tacitus, as often as the occasion permits, in direct contrast to Roman luxury and magnificence. Pliny relates, that Cæcilius Claudius Isidorus ordered for himself a pompous funeral, which cost a sum almost incredible. Book xxxii. And the same author says, that Arabia does not produce in a whole year the quantity of spice consumed by Nero at the funeral of Poppæa. Book xii. The Romans borrowed their superfluous pomp

cuique arma, quorundam igni et equus (*y*) adjicitur. Sepulcrum cespes erigit. Monumentorum arduum et operosum honorem, ut gravem defunctis, adspernantur. Lamenta ac lacrimas cito, dolorem et tristitiam tarde, ponunt. Feminis lugere honestum est; (*z*) viris meminisse. Hæc in commune de omnium Germanorum origine ac moribus accepimus: nunc singularum gentium instituta ritusque, quatenus differant, quæ nationes e Germania in Gallias commigraverint, expediam. (*a*)

XXVIII. Validiores olim Gallorum res fuisse, summus auctorum D. Julius tradit: eoque credibile est, etiam Gallos in Germaniam transgressos. Quantulum enim amnis obstabat, quo minus, ut quæque gens evaluerat, occuparet permutaretque sedes, promiscuas adhuc et nulla regnorum potentia divisas? Igitur inter Hercyniam silvam (*b*) Rhe-

from the eastern nations, and particularly from the Persians, who did not burn the dead bodies, but deposited them in sepulchres of superb structure, where they heaped an immense quantity of spices, and a profusion of rich ornaments.

*y* The things which a German valued most were his arms and his horse. These were added to the funeral pile, with a persuasion that the deceased would have the same delight in his new state of existence. Hence the same custom in almost every quarter of the globe, particularly in the northern parts of Europe. It is true that Tacitus does not expressly tell us that the Germans believed in the immortality of the soul; but in sec. 39, we find, that they had a conception of a Supreme God, the governor of the world; *regnator omnium Deus, cætera subjecta atque parentia*. And since it is evident, that the Icelandic mythology attributed to the Deity infinite power, boundless knowledge, and incorruptible justice; since it appears that they did not allow the Divinity to be represented under any corporeal form, nor to be confined within the inclosure of walls; and since they were taught to offer up their adoration in woods and consecrated forests: it may be fairly inferred from that striking coincidence in the religious opinions of both nations, that the belief of a future state was part of the German creed. See *Northern Antiquities*, ch. v.

*z* Sentiments of a similar kind occur in Seneca, and, perhaps, the distinguishing critic may trace some resemblance in the expression. A year he says is allowed to female grief, not with intent that the whole time should be so employed, but that it should not be protracted longer. No time is prescribed to the men, because none is proper. Epist. 64.

*a* We are now come to what may be called the second part of this treatise. The author has taken a survey of the general manners, and he now proceeds to give a distinct account of the several states that occupied the various divisions of the country.

*b* The Hercynian Forest, according to Cæsar's account, was about nine days' journey in breadth; that being the only way of computing



numque et Mœnum amnes Helvetii, ulteriora Boii, (c) Gallica utraque gens, tenuere. Manet adhuc 'Boihemi' nomen, significatque loci veterem memoriam, quamvis mutatis cultoribus. Sed utrum Aravisci (d) in Pannoniam ab Osis, Germanorum natione, an Osi ab Araviscis in Germaniam, commigraverint, cum eodem adhuc sermone, institutis, moribus utantur, incertum est: quia, pari olim inopia ac libertate, eadem utriusque ripæ bona malaque erant. Treveri (e) et Nervii circa adfectionem Germanicæ originis ultro ambitiosi sunt, tamquam, per hanc gloriam sanguinis, a similitudine et inertia Gallorum separentur. Ipsam Rheni ripam haud dubie Germanorum populi colunt, Vangiones, Triboci, Nemetes. (f) Ne Ubii quidem,

it, as the Germans were ignorant of the use of measures. It began from the confines of the Helvetians, the Nemetes, and Rauraci, and extending towards the Danube, reached the territory of the Dacians; and, turning thence from the banks of the river, covered a vast tract of country. Numbers travelled six days into this forest, yet no one pretended to have reached the farthest limit. Cæsar *De Bell. Gall.* lib. vi. s. 24. Pliny the elder, who had been in Germany, gives a description of this prodigious forest, lib. xvi. s. 2. Gronovius and other commentators say, that the German word is *Hirtsenwald*, importing the forest of stags. The Romans softened the barbarous sound to their own idiom, by calling it *Hercynia Silva*. It is now cut down in many places, or parcelled out into woods, which go by particular names, such as the Black Forest; *La Foret de Hartz*. Some of the woods in Bohemia are supposed to be a remnant of the Hercynian forest.

c The Boians were originally a people of Gaul, bordering on the Helvetians, in the country now called the Bourbonnois. The time of their migration into Germany cannot be fixed with precision. Livy mentions a colony of Gauls sent into Germany in the reign of Tarquinius Priscus. He says, that Ambigatus, king of the Bituriges, who reigned over the Celtæ, being the third part of Gaul, sent his sister's son, Sigovesus, into the Hercynian Forest, in order to discharge a redundant multitude from his own dominions, which at that time, were greatly over-peopled. Book v. s. 34.

d Of these two nations little is now known. It is, however, probable, that the Araviscians inhabited the Upper Hungary, and that the Osians occupied the eastern part of the country near the source of the Vistula. Tacitus doubts whether the latter were a German race, and, in sect. 43, he seems convinced, by their use of the Pannonian language, and the acquiescence with which they submitted to pay a tribute, that they were adventitious settlers in Germany.

e The Treverians inhabited what is now called the diocese of Treves; the territory of the Nervians was near Cambray. See more concerning the Nervians, Cæsar's *Comment.* lib. ii.

f These three nations migrated from Germany into Gaul. The

quamquam Romana colonia esse meruerint, ac libentius 'Agrippinenses,' conditoris sui nomine, vocentur, origine erubescunt, transgressi olim et experimento fidei super ipsam Rheni ripam conlocati, ut arcerent, non ut custodirentur.

XXIX. Omnium harum gentium virtute præcipui Batavi, (*g*) non multum ex ripa, sed insulam Rheni amnis, colunt, Cattorum quondam populus et seditione domestica in eas sedes transgressus, in quibus pars Romani imperii fierent. Manet honos et antiquæ societatis insigne: nam nec tributis contemnuntur, nec publicanus adterit: exempti oneribus et collationibus, et tantum in usum præliorum sepositi, velut tela atque arma, bellis reservantur. Est in eodem obsequio et Mattiacorum gens. (*h*) Protulit enim magnitudo Populi Romani ultra Rhenum, ultraque veteres terminos, Imperii reverentiam. Ita sede finibusque in sua ripa, mente animoque nobiscum, agunt, cetera similes Batavis, nisi quod ipso adhuc terræ suæ solo et cælo acrius animantur. Non numeraverim inter Germaniæ populos,

Vangiones, according to Brotier, occupied the diocese of Worms; the Triboci, the diocese of Strasbourg; the Nemetes the diocese of Spire. Though originally Germans, they were all settled in Gaul before Cæsar carried his victorious arms through every part of the country.

*g* The Batavians are often celebrated by Tacitus for their bravery, their skill in swimming across rivers, and their faithful attachment to the interest of Rome. In the second book of the *Annals*, s. 10, we find them fighting under Germanicus. In the fourth book of the history, they are said to be originally of the Cattian nation. Driven out by their countrymen, they occupied a marshy island, formed by the German Ocean and two branches of the Rhine. They adhered with unshaken constancy to the Romans. They served in Britain as auxiliaries, and in Italy under Vitellius. Inflamed at length by the turbulent spirit of Civilis, they threw off the yoke, and, having stormed the Roman encampments, obliged the legions to lay down their arms, and even to swear fidelity to the empire of the Gauls. See the account of this war in the fourth and fifth books of the *History*. The Batavian island is said in the *Annals*, b. ii. s. 6, to be formed by two branches of the Rhine; one running in a direct course, and with a rapid current, till it empties itself into the German Ocean; the other more gentle, falling into the Vahal (now the Waal,) and thence through the broad mouth of the Mosa (the Meuse,) into the Ocean.

*h* The Mattiaci inhabited lands between the Rhine and the Visurgis (the Weser.) Their country was partly in Weteravie and partly in Hesse. Brotier says, Mattium, their capital, is now called Marpurg, and that the fountains (Fontes Mattiaci) are known by the name of Wis-baden, near Mentz.

quamquam trans Rhenum Danubiumque consederint, eos, qui Decumates (*i*) agros exercent. Levissimus quisque Gallorum, et inopia audax, dubiæ possessionis solum occupavere. Mox limite acto, promotisque præsiidiis, sinus Imperii et pars provinciæ habentur.

XXX. Ultra hos Catti (*j*) initium sedis ab Hercynio saltu inchoant, non ita effusis ac palustribus locis ut ceteræ civitates, in quas Germania patescit: durant siquidem colles, paullatimque rarescunt: et Cattos suos saltus Hercynius prosequitur simul atque deponit. Duriora genti corpora, stricti artus, minax vultus et major animi vigor. (*k*) Multum (ut inter Germanos) rationis ac solertiæ: præponere electos, audire præpositos, nosse ordines, intelligere occasiones, differre inpetus, disponere diem, vallare noctem, fortunam inter dubia, vir-

*i* The country where the decumate lands were situated is now called Suabia. During Cæsar's wars in Gaul, the Marcomanni were in possession. In the time of Augustus, Maroboduus, their king, a brave, politic, and ambitious prince, saw that the Rhine was not a sufficient barrier between him and the Roman arms. He resolved to seek a new habitation in a more remote part of the country. Migrations in Germany were attended with little difficulty. They had neither fortified towns, nor houses strongly built, and all their wealth consisted in herds of cattle. Maroboduus, at the head of the Marcomanni, marched into Bohemia, and expelled the Boians. Suabia being thus evacuated, the neighbouring Gauls were invited by the fertility of the soil. A band of adventurers, supposed to be the Sequani, the Rauraci, and Helvetii, took possession of the vacant lands; and, being subjects of the empire, they continued to own their former masters, and, as was necessary in their new situation, to crave the protection of Rome. The Romans, in return, demanded a tenth of the product of the lands. Hence they were called *decumates*.

*j* The territory of the Catti is said by the commentators to have been between the Rhine, the Mayne, the River Sala, and part of the Hercynian Forest near the Weser, now the countries of Hesse, Thuringia, part of Paderborn, and Franconia. Brotier says, that what Cæsar, Florus, and Ptolemy have remarked of the Suevi, should always be understood of the Catti. Leibnitz supposes that the people were called Catti, from some resemblance in point of agility to a cat, the German word for that animal being *Catte*.

*k* Brotier quotes a passage from Vegetius, in which that author gives a lively description of the form and structure of body proper for a soldier. Let the youth intended for a martial life have a quick piercing eye, a neck firm and erect, an open chest, broad and muscular shoulders, strong fingers, a length of arm, the belly not too prominent, legs well shaped, without superfluous flesh either on the calf or the foot, well braced with hard and close compacted sinews. Vegetius, lib. i. cap. 6.



tutem inter certa numerare : quodque rarissimum, nec nisi ratione disciplinæ concessum, plus reponere in Duce, (*l*) quam in exercitu. Omne robur in pedite, quem, super arma, ferramentis quoque et copiis onerant. Alios ad prælium ire videas, Cattsos ad bellum : rari excursus et fortuita pugna. Equestrium sane virium id proprium, cito parare victoriam, cito cedere. Velocitas juxta formidinem, cunctatio propior constantiæ est.

XXXI. Et aliis Germanorum populis usurpatum rara et privata cujusque audentia, apud Cattsos in consensum vertit, ut primum adoleverint ; crinem barbamque submittere, nec, nisi hoste cæso, exuere votivum obligatumque virtutis habitum. (*m*) Super sanguinem et spolia revelant

*l* This was an improvement in military discipline beyond the rest of the Germans. In the Roman armies the general was the main strength ; and accordingly Livy says, it was evident that the republic succeeded more by her general officers than by the armies of the commonwealth. *Ut facile appareret ducibus validiorem quam exercitum Romanam esse.* Livy, lib. ii. Florus expresses a similar thought with his usual brevity ; *Tanti exercitus, quanti imperator.* Lib. ii. cap. 18. The value of an army is in proportion to the skill of the general. Quintilian agrees with the two historians ; he says, If we make a fair estimate, it is by military discipline that the Roman name has flourished to this day with undiminished lustre. We do not abound in numbers more than other nations ; nor are our bodies more robust than the Cimbrians. We are not richer than many powerful monarchies ; our contempt of death does not exceed that of the barbarians, who have no allurement to make them fond of life. What gives us the advantage over other nations, is the military system established by the institutions of our ancestors ; our attention to discipline ; our love of labour, and our constant preparation for war, assiduously kept alive by unremitting exercise. We conquer more by our manners, than by force of arms. Quintilian, *Pro Milite*, Declam. iii. s. 14.

*m* Vows of this kind occur in the history of various nations. In the days of chivalry the same custom prevailed, and manifestly owed its origin to the practice of the Germans, who overran all Europe. He who undertook a bold enterprise, or thirsted for revenge, made a vow never to sleep in a bed, or take off his clothes day or night, till he had executed his grand design. Upon this principle Civilis, the Batavian chief, curtails his hair and beard as soon as he had performed his promise. See Tacitus, *History*, b. iv. s. 51. Lipsius, in his note on that passage, mentions from the History of the Langobards, six thousand Saxons, who survived the slaughter of their countrymen, and bound themselves by a solemn vow, neither to shave their beards nor cut their hair, till they had revenged themselves on the Suevian nation. Brotier relates the same fact from Warnefrid's *History of the Lombards*, b. iii. ch. 7. This practice of encouraging the growth of

frontem, seque 'tum demum pretia nascendi retulisse, dignosque patria ac parentibus' ferunt. Ignavis et inbelibus manet squalor. Fortissimus quisque ferreum insuper annulum (ignominiosum id genti) velut vinculum (*n*) gestat, donec se cæde hostis absolvat. Plurimis Cattorum hic placet habitus. Jamque canent insignes, et hostibus simul suisque monstrati: omnium penes hos initia pugnarum: hæc prima semper acies, visu torva. Nam ne in pace quidem vultu mitiore mansuescunt. Nulli domus, aut ager, aut aliqua cura: prout ad quemque venere, aluntur: prodigi alieni, contemptores sui: donec exsanguis seconnectus tam duræ virtuti in pares faciat.

XXXII. Proximi Cattis certum jam alveo Rhenum, quique terminus esse sufficiat, Usipii (*o*) ac Tencteri colunt. Tencteri, super solitum bellorum decus, equestris disciplinæ arte præcellunt. Nec major apud Cattos peditum laus, quam Tencteris equitum. Sic instituere majores, posterii imitantur. Hi lusus infantium, hæc juvenum æmulatio,

the hair was known to Silius Italicus; and accordingly, that poet mentions, among the slain in one of his battles, a Gaul, who had bound himself by a similar vow, never to be shorn till he returned victorious from the field of battle. Bell. Punic. lib. iv. v. 200.

*n* This custom of voluntarily putting on a badge of slavery, was observed by the descendants of the Germans in various parts of Europe, and in the times of chivalry, seems to have grown into general use. It was then a mark of amorous gallantry. In the year 1414, John, Duke of Bourbon, to distinguish himself in the service of his mistress, associated himself with sixteen knights and 'squires, who all joined him in a vow, by which they obliged themselves to wear a ring round their left legs on every Sunday for two years; that of the knights to be gold, and that of the gentlemen silver. And this they were to perform till it should be their lot to meet with an equal number of knights and 'squires to engage with them in the tournament. Vertot, *Memoires de l'Acad. des Belles Lettres*, vol. ii. p. 595.

*o* The Usipii are supposed to have occupied the duchy of Cleves, and part of the bishoprick of Munster. Cæsar calls them *Usipetes*; and they, he says, with the Tenctheri, were driven by the Suevians from their territories; and, having wandered over many regions of Germany during a space of three years, they settled at last on the banks of the Rhine, near the Menapians, who had lands on both sides of the river. Cæsar, b. iv. s. 1. Afterwards, in the reign of Augustus, when the Sicambri were transplanted to the west side of the Rhine by Tiberius, who commanded the legions in those parts, the Usipians and Tencterians succeeded to the lands left vacant in Germany; supposed now to be the duchy of Berg, and Mark, Lipp, Waldeck, and the bishoprick of Paderborn. In the *History of Tacitus*, b. iv. s. 64, we see them acting with Civilis against the Romans.



perseverant senes : inter familiam et Penates et jura successionum equi traduntur : excipit filius, non, ut cetera, maximus natu, sed prout ferox bello et melior.

XXXIII. Juxta Tencteros Bructeri (*p*) olim occurrebant : nunc Chamavos (*q*) et Angrivarios inmigrasse narra-

*p* The Bructerians dwelt between the Rhine, the Lippia (the Lippe,) and Amisia (the Ems.) The country is now supposed to be Westphalia, and Over-Issel. They entered into an alliance with Civilis, the Batavian chief; and, having in the course of that war incurred the hatred of their countrymen, they were at length exterminated. It is observable, however, that Tacitus does not state the ruin of this people as a positive fact. He mentions it as a report. That they were still a people appears in a letter of Pliny, who wrote in the time of Trajan. The emperor, he tells us, decreed a triumphal statue to Vestritius Spurinna, who, without the necessity of coming to an engagement, humbled the Bructerians by the terror of his name. The barbarians had experienced his courage and his conduct, and therefore not only received their king from him, but quietly submitted to their former government. Pliny, lib. ii. epist. 7. It is probable, therefore, that Tacitus was misinformed.

*q* The Chamavians occupied a territory near the banks of the Amisia, (the Ems) supposed to be Lingen and Osnaburg. The Angrivarians bordered on the Visurgis, (the Weser) where at present are Minden and Shawenburg. They were also called Angrarii; a word which, Gronovius observes, according to the German etymology, signifies *aggressors*. Brotier says, they were afterwards a part of the Saxon nation; and, for proof of this, he refers to the code of Saxon laws. The same writer adds, that the battle which, in conjunction with the Angrivarians, they fought against the Bructerians, was decided on a plain near the canal of Drusus, (see s. xxix note *a*) and the account of that prodigious slaughter arrived at Rome in the first year of the emperor Trajan. Tacitus on this occasion seems to exult in the destruction of the human species. "Above sixty thousand of the Germans," he says, "lay dead on the field of battle; a glorious spectacle for the legions, who beheld that scene of blood." The ambition of the Romans aiming always at universal dominion, it was part of their policy to give the name of barbarians to the nations that did not tamely submit to their victorious arms. The combats of their gladiators inured them to blood and carnage from their very infancy; and, by consequence, they considered the race of men as so many victims, who were to bleed for the ambition of a people who aspired to be the governors of the world. To conquer the proud (*debellare superbos*) was a state maxim, and moral virtue gave way to fierce ambition. There is a passage in Livy not unlike what is said by Tacitus, but not delivered with the same harshness of expression. A contention, he says, arose between the Volsci and the Æqui, each claiming a right to name a commander in chief for their confederate army. A violent sedition followed, and the consequence was a bloody engagement, in which the good fortune of the Roman people destroyed two armies of the enemy. Livy, lib. ii. 40.



tur, pulsus Bructeris ac penitus excisis, vicinarum consensu nationum : seu superbiae odio, seu prædæ dulcedine, seu favore quodam erga nos Deorum : nam ne spectaculo quidem prælii invidere, super LX. millia, non armis telisque Romanis, sed, quod magnificentius est, oblectationi oculisque ceciderunt. Maneat, quæso, duretque gentibus, si non amor nostri, at certe odium sui : quando, urgentibus Imperii fati, nihil jam præstare fortuna majus potest, quam hostium discordiam.

XXXIV. Angrivarios et Chamavos, a tergo Dulgibini et Chasuari (*r*) cludunt aliæque gentes, haud perinde memoratæ. A fronte Frisii excipiunt. ‘Majoribus minoribusque Frisiis’ (*s*) vocabulum est ex modo virium : utræque nationes usque ad Oceanum Rheno prætexuntur, ambiuntque immensos insuper lacus (*t*) et Romanis classibus navi-

*r* It is difficult to fix the residence of these two nations. The commentators seem disposed to assign them the country near the head of the river Lippe, and thence it is thought that they removed to the lands evacuated by the Angrivarians and Chamavians, when they expelled the Bructerian nation. They seem to have been the same with those whom Velleius Paterculus calls the Attuarii : see Paterc. lib. ii. s. 105. They were afterwards part of the Francic league. The nations of inferior note, said by Tacitus to have dwelt in the neighbourhood, are supposed by Brotier to have been the Ansiberii and Tubantes. The former he thinks should rather be called Amsibarii, from their vicinity to the river Amisia.

*s* The Flevus, in the time of the Romans, was a great lake. Germanicus entered it through the artificial branch of the Rhine made by Drusus. *Annals*, b. ii. s. 3. It has been since enlarged by irruptions of the sea, and is now the great gulf called Zuyder-Zee. The Lesser Frisians were settled on the south-west side of the bay, occupying the whole or part of Holland and Utrecht. The Greater Frisians were on the north-east of the lake or gulf, in the territory now called Groningen, extending themselves along the sea-coast as far as the river Amisia (now the Ems.) The name of the Frisians seems to be preserved in that of *Friesland*, the most northern of the United Provinces.

*t* One of the inundations which changed the lake into a gulf of the sea, happened so late as the year 1530, and swallowed up seventy-two villages. Another happened in the year 1569, and overwhelmed the coast of Holland, and laid all Friesland under water. In that flood no less than 20,000 persons lost their lives. Where the pillars of Hercules stood, cannot now be known with certainty. The extreme point of land, where nothing but the open sea lay beyond it, was in ancient times said to be the spot on which the pillars of Hercules were erected. Some of the commentators contend that the spot intended by Tacitus was on the coast of the Frisians ; others will have it to be the point of the *Cimbrian Chersonesus*, now Jutland,

gatos. Ipsum quin etiam Oceanum illa tentavimus : et superesse adhuc Herculis columnas fama vulgavit : sive adiit Hercules, seu, quidquid ubique magnificum est, in claritatem ejus referre consensimus. Nec defuit audentia Druso Germanico : sed obstitit Oceanus in se simul atque in Herculem inquiri. Mox nemo tentavit : sanctiusque ac reverentius visum, de actis Deorum credere, quam scire. (u)

XXXV. Hactenus in Occidentem Germaniam novimus. In Septemtrionem ingenti flexu redit. Ac primo statim Chaucorum gens, (v) quamquam incipiat a Frisiis, ac partem litæris occupet, omnium, quas exposui, gentium lateribus obtenditur, donec in Cattos usque sinuetur. Tam inensum terrarum spatium non tenent tantum Chauci, sed et implent : populus inter Germanos nobilissimus, quique magnitudinem suam malit justitia tueri : sine cupiditate, sine inpotentia, quieti secretique, nulla provocant bella, nullis raptibus aut latrociniiis populantur. Idque præcipuum virtutis ac virium argumentum est, quod, ut superiores agant, non per injurias adsequuntur. Prompta tamen om-

u Tacitus, perhaps, alluded to the precept of the philosopher, who said, "Worship God, believe in him, but do not presume to investigate his nature." *Deum cole, atque crede, sed noli quærere.* The ancients, says La Bletterie, thought it presumptuous to inquire too far into the mysteries of nature ; and the moderns do not spare the mysteries of religion.

v The territory of the Chaucians extended from the Ems (Amisia) to the Elbe, (Albis) and the German Ocean washed the northern extremity. The nation was distinguished into the Greater and the Lesser, divided from each other by the Visurgis (the Weser). The former dwelt (as appears in *Annals*, b. ii. s. 18 and 19) between the Ems and the Weser ; the latter on the northeast side of the Weser, between that river and the Elbe. Pliny, in his *Natural History*, has represented the maritime inhabitants in lively colours. He says, he himself had seen the Greater and the Lesser Chaucians, living in a vast level country, which is overflowed twice in the day and night by the reflux of the tide, and leaves a perpetual doubt whether it is sea or land. Pliny adds, that the wretched inhabitants live on the ridge of hills, or in mud cottages, raised above high water mark, having no cattle, no milk, and no fruits of the earth. Fish is their only sustenance, and they catch it with lines made of flags and seaweed. Their fuel is the common mud, taken up with their hands, and dried rather by the wind than the sun. With fire made of this kind of peat, they warm their food and their bodies almost frozen. The rain-water, collected in ditches around their huts, is their only drink. Pliny, lib. xvi. s. 1.

nibus arma, (*w*) ac si res poscat, exercitus ; plurimum virorum equorumque : et quiescentibus eadem fama.

XXXVI. In latere Chaucorum Cattorumque Cherusci (*x*) nimiam ac marcentem diu pacem inlaccessiti nutrierunt : idque jucundius, quam tutius, fuit : quia inter impotentes et validos falso quiescas ; ubi manu agitur, modestia ac probitas nomina superioris sunt. Ita, qui olim ‘boni æquique Cherusci,’ nunc ‘inertes ac stulti’ vocantur : Cattis victoribus fortuna in sapientiam cessit. Tracti ruina Cheruscorum et Fosi, (*y*) contermina gens, adversarum rerum ex æquo socii, cum in secundis minores fuissent.

XXXVII. Eundem Germaniæ sinum proximi Oceano Cimbri (*z*) tenent, parva nunc civitas, sed gloria ingens :

*w* The Chaucians, with their love of justice and moderation, still retained their warlike spirit. To prevent their incursions, the Romans found it convenient to station garrisons at proper posts.

*x* The territory of the Cherusicans began near the Weser (Visurgis), and extended to the Elbe, through the countries now called Lunebourg, Brunswick, and part of Brandenburg. Arminius, their chief, made head against the Romans with distinguished bravery, and performed a number of gallant exploits, as related by Tacitus in the first and second book of the *Annals*. He was at last cut off by the treachery of his countrymen, and his character is given in lively colours in the last section of the second book. Varus and his legions were destroyed by the zeal and violent spirit of Arminius, as appears in the speech of Segestes, *Annals*, b. i. s. 58. The long peace, in which the vigour of this people sunk into sloth and indolence, was, perhaps, occasioned by the death of Arminius ; or it might be from the time when Germanicus was recalled by Tiberius, and sent to command the legions in the east. In the time of Augustus, they occupied a large tract of country on the west side of the Weser, as appears in the accounts given by Velleius Paterculus of Drusus, and his wars in Germany.

*y* This is the only place in which Tacitus makes mention of the Fosi. Cluverius and others suppose that they were the same as the ancient Saxons. But this opinion does not seem to be well supported. According to Ptolemy, the Saxons inhabited the country of Holstein at the entrance of the Cimbrian Chersonesus, or Jutland. The name of the Saxons could not be mentioned by Tacitus ; it was not known till long after his time, in the reign of Antoninus Pius, when in conjunction with the Angles, they issued from their hive, and afterwards became masters of Britain. The Fosi were a different people. They bordered on the Cherusicans near the Elbe ; and, since we find them involved in one common calamity, they were, perhaps, subordinate to that nation.

*z* The Cimbri inhabited the peninsula, which, after their name, was called the Cimbric Chersonesus, and is now Jutland, including Sleswick and Holstein.



veterisque famæ lata vestigia manent, utraque ripa castra ac spatia, quorum ambitu nunc quoque metiaris molem manusque gentis, et tam magni exitus fidem. Sexcentimum et quadragesimum annum urbs nostra agebat, cum primum Cimbrorum audita sunt arma, Cæcilio Metello ac Papirio Carbone Coss. Ex quo si ad alterum Imperatoris Trajani Consulatum computemus, ducenti ferme et decem anni conliguntur. Tamdiu Germania vincitur. Medio tam longi ævi spatio, multa invicem damna: non Samnis, non Pœni, non Hispaniæ Galliæve, ne Parthi quidem sæpius admonuere: quippe Regno Arsacis acrior est Germanorum libertas. Quid enim aliud nobis, quam cædem Crassi, (a) amisso et ipso Pacoro, infra Ventidium dejectus Oriens objecerit? At Germani Carbone et Cassio et Scauro Aurelio (b) et Servilio Cæpione, Cn. quoque Manlio fuis, vel

a The slaughter of Crassus and his army is well known: but in revenge, Pacorus, son of Orodes, the Parthian king, was put to death, and the kingdom was reduced to a lower condition than even that of Ventidius, who gained a complete victory. Tacitus says, *infra Ventidium dejectus oriens*, alluding to the meanness of that officer's first employment; he let out mules for hire, and was afterwards raised to the consulship by Antony the triumvir.

The victory obtained by this man, (see Florus, lib. iv. s. 9) places the weakness of the Parthians in a clear point of view. But the loss of so many Roman consuls, with their armies, shows the warlike genius of the Germans. Carbo was consul A. U. C. 640, and was routed by the Cimbrians with his whole army. Livy, Epitome lxiii. Lucius Cassius was consul A. U. C. 647. He himself was slain in battle, and his whole army passed under the yoke. Cæsar, b. i. s. 12. See Livy, Epitome lxxv.

b Marcus Scaurus Aurelius gave battle to the Cimbrians, and his army was put to flight. He himself was taken prisoner. Being summoned to a consultation held by the enemy, he advised them not to think of passing the Alps, because the Romans were invincible. For that offence Boiorix, a young man of great ferocity, killed him on the spot. Livy, Epit. lxxvii. Servilius Cæpio, proconsul, and Cneius Manlius, consul, were both defeated, and their camps were pillaged by the Cimbrians. Livy, Epit. lxxvii. Florus, lib. iii. s. 3. Velleius Paterculus, lib. ii. s. 12. This last defeat happened A. U. C. 649, and, according to Plutarch, in the life of Lucullus, the anniversary was reckoned among the unlucky days. In order to do justice to the martial ardour of the Germans, Tacitus takes care to observe that these disasters happened in the best days of Rome, that is, in the time of the republic. *Quinque simul consulares exercitus POPULO ROMANO abstulerunt.* He adds, that Augustus the emperor lost Varus and his three legions. The calamity made such an impression on the mind of Augustus, that, as Suetonius relates, he let his hair

captis, quinque simul Consulares exercitus Populo Romano, Varum, tresque cum eo legiones, etiam Cæsari abstulerunt: nec inipune C. Marius in Italia, D. Julius in Gallia, Drusus ac Nero Germanicus in suis eos sedibus perculerunt. Mox ingentes C. Cæsaris minæ in ludibrium versæ. Inde otium, donec occasione discordiæ nostræ et civilium armorum, expugnatis legionum hibernis, (c) etiam Gallias adfectavere: ac rursus pulsi inde, proximis temporibus triumphati magis quam victi sunt.

XXXVIII Nunc de Suevis (d) dicendum est, quorum non una, ut Cattorum. Tencterorumve, gens: majorem enim Germaniæ partem obtinent, propriis adhuc nationibus nominibusque discreti, quamquam in commune 'Suevi' vocentur. Insigne gentis obliquare crinem nodoque sub-

and beard grow for several months, at times striking his head against the wall, and exclaiming, "Quintilius Varus, give me back my legions." Sueton. in *Augustos*, s. 23. See the fine description of Germanicus and his army traversing the field where the bones of their slaughtered countrymen lay unburied. *Annals*, b i. s. 61.

c During the troubles that followed the death of Nero, and the wars between Otho, Vitellius. and Vespasian, Claudius Civilis, the Batavian chief, took the field at the head of a confederate army, under a plausible pretence of promoting the interest of Vespasian, but, in fact, to deliver his country and the Gauls from the Roman yoke. He called himself the friend of Vespasian, while he stormed the Roman camps, and obliged the legions to surrender to his victorious arms. He drew many of the German nations into a conspiracy; and, acting on every occasion with consummate policy, he appears to have learned in the school of the Romans the art of contending with his masters. He was at length abandoned by the Germans, and, by consequence, reduced to the necessity of patching up a peace with Cerealis, the Roman general. An imperfect account of this transaction may be seen in what remains of the fifth book of the History, which has suffered by the injury of time.

d The territory occupied by the Suevians was of vast extent, stretching southward from the Baltic to the Danube, and eastward from the Elbe to the Vistula, which was the boundary that separated Germany from Sarmatia. Several nations inhabited that vast tract of country. They formed a confederation with the Suevians, and, being so connected, were called by one general appellation. Some distinct states were subject to the Suevians, and thence derived the name of Suevians. The new league that was afterwards established took the title of Alamanni (see this tract, s. xxix. note (c.)) The two names have been promiscuously used by historians to signify the Suevi or the Alamanni; and hence the country, which, after the destruction of the wall erected by the emperor Probus, became the theatre of war, was alternately called Alamannia and Suabia.

stringere. (e) Sic Suevii a ceteris Germanis, sic Suevorum ingenui a servis, separantur. In aliis gentibus, seu cognatione aliqua Suevorum, seu (quod sæpe accidit) imitatione rarum, et intra juventæ spatium; apud Suevos usque ad canitiem, horrentem capillum retro sequuntur, ac sæpe in solo vertice religant. Principes et ornatiorem habent: ea cura formæ, sed innoxia. Neque enim ut ament amen-turve; in altitudinem quandam et terrorem, adituri bella, compti, ut hostium oculis, ornantur.

XXXIX. ' Vetustissimos se nobilissimosque Suevorum Semnones (f) memorant. Fides antiquitatis religione firmatur. Stato tempore in silvam, auguriis patrum et prisca formidine sacram, omnes ejusdem sanguinis populi legationibus coeunt, cæsoque publice homine celebrant barbari ritus horrenda primordia. Est et alia luco reverentia. Nemo nisi vinculo ligatus ingreditur, ut minor, et potestatem Numinis præ se ferens: si forte prolapsus est, adtolli et insurgere haud licitum: per humum evolvuntur: eoque omnis superstitio respicit, tamquam inde initia gentis, ibi regnator omnium Deus, (g) cetera subjecta atque parentia. Adjicit auctoritatem fortuna Semnonum, centum pa-

e It should seem, from what is here said, that the rest of the Germans let their hair flow loosely about their heads and shoulders. Seneca mentions the ruddy hair of the Germans gathered into a knot; but he does not call it a general custom: he only says it was not deemed unmanly. Seneca, *De Ira*, lib. iii. cap. 26.

f The Semnones occupied both banks of the Viadrus (now the Oder,) with part of Pomerania, Brandenburg, and also of Silesia.

g The belief of a Supreme God, the governor of the universe, has been from the earliest time common to all nations, however rude and barbarous. It is well known to have been the persuasion of the Scythians, from whom the Germans derived their origin; and it is also known that the Scythians offered human sacrifices. Accordingly we find the Semnones addicted to the same barbarous rites. The old treatise of Icelandic mythology, entitled the Edda, shows that the Scandinavians believed in a Supreme Deity, "the author of every thing that exists; the eternal, the ancient, the living and awful Being; the searcher into concealed things, the Being that never changeth." See Mallet's *Northern Antiquities*, vol. i. p. 78. This concurring opinion of all mankind is observed by Cicero, who says, there never was a people so rude, so savage, and so sunk in ignorance, as not to be impressed with the idea of a supreme all-ruling mind. The conceptions of men are, indeed, gross and extravagant; but still all acknowledge a superior Being, and a divinity that stirs within them. *Tuscul. Question.* lib. i. s. 13.



gis habitantium : magnoque corpore efficitur, ut se Suevorum caput credant.

XL. Contra Langobardos (*h*) paucitas nobilitat : plurimis ac valentissimis nationibus cincti, non per obsequium, sed proeliis et periclitando tuti sunt. Reudigni (*i*) deinde et Aviones et Angli et Varini et Eudoses et Suariones et Nuithones fluminibus aut silvis muniuntur : nec quidquam notabile in singulis, nisi quod in commune Herthum (*j*) id

*h* The Langobards are supposed in the time of Augustus, to have inhabited the country now called Lunenbourg and Magdebourg, on the west side of the Elbe. Velleius Paterculus says, they were subdued by Tiberius, when he commanded in Germany, and that they were a people that exceeded even German ferocity. Vell. Pat. lib. ii. cap. 106. It is evident, however, that they afterwards recovered their strength, since we find the dominion of the Langobards flourishing in Italy, till in the year 784, they were totally subdued by Charlemagne. Their code of laws is preserved by Lindenbrogius. Tacitus has made no mention of the Burgundians, perhaps because they were in his time of little or no consideration; though at the end of several centuries they were able to make an irruption into Gaul, where they possessed the country, which, after them, is to this day called the province of Burgundy. The Burgundian laws are still extant.

*i* With regard to the seven nations here enumerated, there are no lights of history to guide us at this distant period. Brotier supposes that the Rudignians dwelt in what is now called Mecklenbourg and Lawenbourg. The Aviones, he thinks, were situated in a portion of the duchy of Mecklenbourg, near a river, which, after their name, is called Ava by the inhabitants. The Varinians are generally thought to have occupied the eastern part of Mecklenbourg, where the city of Waren stands at present. The Eudosians, the Nuithones, and Suarionians are almost lost in the mists of antiquity. The Angles are better known. They occupied part of Holstein and Sleswick. In the fifth century they joined the Saxons in their expedition to Britain, and, by giving the name of England to the southern part of the island, immortalized the glory of their nation.

*j* As Tacitus is here speaking of the adoration paid to a goddess by the several nations whose names have been enumerated, it is not probable that, in latinizing a barbarous word, he should give it a masculine termination. The text says, Herthum, *id est, Terram Matrem colunt*. So, it seems, the word stands in all the manuscripts; and yet, it may be presumed, that the author wrote Hertham. The name in all the northern languages signifies earth; in the ancient Gothic, *airtha*; in the Anglo-Saxon, *eorthe*, *ertha*, *hertha*; in English, *earth*. See *Northern Antiquities*, vol. p. 92. The worship of Mother Earth has been common in all unenlightened nations. We read in a Latin historian, that a tremor of the earth being felt when two armies were in the heat of battle, Sempronius, the Roman gene-

est, Terram matrem, colunt, eamque intervenire rebus hominum, invehi populis, arbitrantur. Est in insula Oceani castum nemus, dicatumque in eo vehiculum, veste contextum : adtingere uni Sacerdoti concessum. Is adesse penetrali Deam intelligit, vectamque bubus feminis multa cum veneratione prosequitur. Læti tunc dies, festa loca, quæcunque adventu hospitioque dignatur. Non bella ineunt, non arma sumunt ; clausum omne ferrum : pax et quies tunc tantum nota, tunc tantum amata, donec idem Sacerdos satiatam conversatione mortalium Deam templo reddat : mox vehiculum et vestes, et, si credere velis, Numen ipsum secreto lacu abluitur. Servi ministrant ; quos statim idem lacus haurit. Arcanus hinc terror sanctaque ignorantia, quid sit illud, quod tantum perituri vident.

XLI. Et hæc quidem pars Suevorum in secretiora Germaniæ porrigitur. (*k*) Propior (ut, quo modo paullo ante

ral, bound himself by a vow to build a temple to the goddess. Florius, lib. i. cap. 19. The deity that presided over the air and the elements, was supposed to be the father of all, and the earth the mother. This idea of a creative power was not confined to Greece and Rome. "It was the opinion of all the Celtic nations, and of the ancient Syrians, that the Supreme Being, or celestial God, had united with the earth to produce the inferior deities, man, and all other creatures. Upon this was founded that veneration they had for the earth, which they considered as a goddess. They called her Mother Earth, and the Hertha of the German was the same as *Frica*, or *Frea*, the wife of Odin, mother of the gods ; she was also known under the name of Astagood, or the goddess of love ; a name not very remote from the Astarte of the Phœnicians ; and under that of Goya, which the ancient Greeks gave to the earth. The Father of the gods and Mother Earth were called by some of the Scythian nations, Jupiter and Apia ; by the Thracians, Cotis and Bendis ; by the inhabitants of Greece and Italy, Saturn and Ops. Antiquity is full of traces of this worship, which was formerly universal. The Scythians adored the earth as a goddess, wife of the supreme God ; the Turks celebrated her in their hymns, and the Persians offered sacrifices to her." *Northern Antiquities*, vol. i. p. 91 and 95.

*k* We are now entering on what may be considered as the third part of this treatise. In the first, the author has given a striking picture of the general manners of the whole nation, considered as a people living under the influence of the same rough northern climate. From the beginning of section xxviii. he has traced the several states from the head of the Rhine, in the country of the Grisons, along the western side of Germany to where it branches off, and forms the isle of Batavia. From that place Tacitus has traced the several nations to the Elbe, and along the coast of the Baltic to the Vistula, the eastern boundary of Germany. In this third division of the work

Rhenum, sic nunc Danubium sequar) Hermundurorum civitas, (*l*) fida Romanis, eoque solis Germanorum non in ripa commercium, sed penitus, atque in splendidissima Rhætiae provinciae colonia : passim et sine custode transeunt : et, cum ceteris gentibus arma modo castraque nostra ostendamus, hic domos villasque patefecimus, non concupiscentibus. In Hermunduris Albis oritur, flumen inclitum et notum olim ; nunc tantum auditur.

XLII. Juxta Hermunduros Narisci, (*m*) ac deinde Marcomanni et Quadi agunt. Præcipua Marcomannorum (*n*) gloria viresque, atque ipsa etiam sedes, pulsis olim Boiis, virtute parta. Nec Narisci Quadive degenerant. Eaque Germaniæ velut frons est, quatenus Danubio protegitur.

he pursues the course of the Danube, as long as it divides Germany from the Vindelici, from Noricum, and Pannonia. He then follows the eastern side of the country, where a chain of mountains, or, as he expresses it, mutual fear draws the line of separation from Dacia and Sarmatia. In this geographical chart, the first nation that occurs is that of the Hermundurians, who occupied a country of prodigious extent, at first between the Elbe, the river Sala, and Boiemum (now Bohemia,) which became the territory of the Marcomanni, when that people expelled the Boians, and fixed their habitation in the conquered country. In the time of Tacitus the Hermundurians possessed the southern part of Germany, and being faithful to the Romans, were highly favoured. Vindelica was a part of Rhætia.

*l* Tacitus is supposed in this place to be guilty of a geographical mistake. The source of the Elbe is in Bohemia, among the mountains that separate that country from Silesia. Bohemia, as will be seen in the following section, was, after the expulsion of the Boians, inhabited by the Marcomanni. It should, however, be remembered that the Hermundurians served in the army of Maroboduus, in his expedition against the Boians, and, perhaps, were rewarded with an allotment of lands in that part of Bohemia where the Elbe takes its rise. If so, Tacitus has made no mistake. There is a river, called the Egra, which rises in Suabia, and this, it is supposed by some of the commentators, Tacitus confounded with the source of the Elbe ; a river more known by the victories of Drusus and Tiberius, than by any discoveries made by the Romans since the days of those two commanders.

*m* The Nariscans occupied the country between Bohemia and the Danube, which is now part of Bavaria.

*n* The Marcomannians, before they took possession of Boiemum, or Bohemia, are said to have inhabited the country near the Danube, now called the duchy of Wirtemberg, in the north part of the circle of Suabia. The Quadians occupied Moravia and part of Austria ; in the time of Tacitus, a brave and warlike people, but, in the reign of Valentinian and Valens, a nation of little consequence. See Ammianus Marcellinus, b. xxix. ch. 15.



Marcomannis Quadisque usque ad nostram memoriam Reges manserunt ex gente ipsorum, nobile Marobodui (*o*) et Tudri genus; jam et externos patiuntur. Sed vis et potentia Regibus (*p*) ex auctoritate Romana: raro armis nostris, sæpius pecunia, juvantur.

XLIII. Nec minus valent retro Marsigni, Gothini, Osi, Burii: terga Marcomannorum Quadorumque claudunt: e quibus Marsigni, (*q*) et Burii sermone cultuque Suevos referunt. Gothinos Gallica, Osos Pannonica lingua, coarguit, non esse Germanos, et quod tributa patiuntur: partem tributorum Sarmatæ, partem Quadi, ut alienigenis, inponunt. Gothini, quo magis pudeat, et ferrum effodiunt: (*r*) omnesque hi populi pauca campestrium, ceterum saltus et vertices montium jugumque, (*s*) insederunt. Dirimit enim scinditque Sueviam continuum montium jugum, ultra quod plurimæ gentes agunt: ex quibus latissime patet Lygiorum (*t*) nomen in plures civitates diffusum. Valentissimas nominasse sufficiet, Arios, Helveconas, Manimos, Elysios, Naharvalos. (*u*) Apud Naharvalos antiquæ

*o* Maroboduus was king of the Marcomannians. For an account of him, and his alliance with the Romans against Arminius, see *Annals*, b. ii. s. 46. With regard to Tudrus, the other prince mentioned by Tacitus, nothing is known at present.

*p* We are told by Tacitus that it was the policy of Rome, to make even kings the instruments of her ambition. With this view, the emperors disposed of sceptres whenever an occasion offered itself; and accordingly, Tiberius, to keep in subjection a large body of German emigrants, appointed Vannius to reign over them. *Annals*, b. ii. s. 63.

*q* History has not left materials for an accurate account of the four nations here enumerated. The commentators, however, assign their territories in the following manner. The Marsignians dwelt on the north-east of Bohemia, near Viadrus (now the Oder,) which rises in Moravia, and runs through Silesia, Brandenburg, and Pomerania, into the Baltic. The Gothinians inhabited part of Silesia, and Hungary. The Osians bordered on the last people, and extended as far as the Danube. The Burians were settled near the Krapack Mountains, and the sources of the Vistula.

*r* Ptolemy mentions iron-mines in or near the country of the Quadians. The Gothinians laboured in those mines, and had, therefore, says Tacitus, more reason to be ashamed of their submission.

*s* These are the mountains between Moravia, Hungary, Silesia, and Bohemia.

*t* The nation of the Lygians inhabited part of Silesia, of Prussia and Poland as far as the banks of the Vistula. They are mentioned by Tacitus, *Annals*, b. xii. s. 29.

*u* The situation of these several tribes cannot be stated with any

religionis locus ostenditur. Præsidet Sacerdos muliebri ornatu: sed 'Deos, interpretatione Romana, Castorem 'Pollucemque' (v) memorant. Ea vis numini: nomen 'Alcis:' nulla simulacra, nullum peregrinæ superstitionis vestigium: ut fratres tamen, ut juvenes, venerantur. Ceterum Arii super vires, quibus enumeratos paullo ante populos antecedunt, truces, insitæ feritati arte ac tempore lenocinantur: nigra scuta, tincta corpora, (w) atras ad prælia noctes legunt: ipsaque formidine atque umbra feralis exercitus terrorem inferunt, nullo hostium sustinente novum ac velut infernum adspectum: nam primi in omnibus præliis oculi vincuntur. Trans Lygios Gothones (x) regnantur, paullo jam adductius, quam ceteræ Germanorum gentes, nondum tamen supra libertatem. Protinus deinde ab Oceano Rugii, (y) et Lemovii: omniumque harum gentium insigne, rotunda scuta, breves gladii, et erga Reges obsequium.

XLIV. Suionum (z) hinc civitates, ipso in Oceano, præter viros armaque classibus valent: (a) forma navium eo

degree of certainty. Brotier, and other learned critics, place them in Silesia, Brandenburg, and Poland, between the Viadrus (the Oder) and the Vistula.

v Whoever is desirous to have a clear idea of the German and Scandinavian gods, will find a full account in the *Northern Antiquities*, vol. i. ch. 6; as also in Schedius, *De Diis Germanis*. It is evident in Verstegan's *British Antiquities*, that the German and other northern nations worshipped the Sun and Moon, whence were derived Sunday and Monday; and also Tuisto, Woden, Thor, Frica or Freia, and Seater, called Saturn by the Roman writers; and thence we have Tuesday, Wednesday, Thursday, Friday and Saturday, formed in regular succession, from the deities above enumerated.

w The custom of painting the body has been in general use among all savage nations, for ornament as well as terror in the day of battle.

x The Gothones dwelt near the mouth of the Vistula, in part of Pomerania and the north-west of Poland.

y The Rugians were situated on the Baltic shore. The town of Rugenwald and the isle of Rugen are subsisting memorials of this people and their name. The Lemovians were in the neighbourhood of the Rugians on the coast of the Baltic, near the city of Dantzic.

z The Suiones occupied Sweden, and the Danish isles of Fumen, Langland, Zeeland, &c. From them and the Cimbrians issued forth the Norman race, who carried the terror of their arms through several parts of Europe, and at length took possession of the fertile province in France, which derived from those adventurers the present name of Normandy.

a The naval force of the Suiones was for a long time considerable. Their descendants in the eleventh century had the honour of

differt, quod utrimque prora paratam semper adpulsui frontem agit : nec velis ministrant, nec remos in ordinem lateribus adjungunt. Solutum, ut in quibusdam fluminum. et mutabile, ut res poscit, hinc vel illinc remigium. Est apud illos et opibus honos : (b) eoque unus imperitat, nullis jam exceptionibus, non precario jure parendi : nec arma, ut apud ceteros Germanos, in promiscuo, sed clausa sub custode et quidem servo : quia subitos hostium incursus prohibet Oceanus, otiosæ porro armatorum manus facile lascivunt : enimvero neque nobilem, neque ingenuum, ne libertinum quidem, armis præponere Regia utilitas est.

XLV. Trans Suionas aliud mare, pigrum (c) ac prope inmotum, quo cingi cludique terrarum orbem hinc fides ; quod extremus cadentis jam solis fulgor in ortus edurat adeo clarus, ut sidera hebetet ; (d) sonum insuper audiri, formasque Deorum et radios capitis adspici, persuasio adjicit. Illuc usque (et fama vera) tantum natura. (e) Ergo jam dextro Suevici maris litore Æstyorum (f) gentes adluuntur : quibus ritus habitusque Suevorum ; lingua Britannicæ proprior. Matrem Deum (g) venerantur : insigne superstitionis, formas aprorum gestant. Id pro armis omni-que tutela : securum Deæ cultorem etiam inter hostes præ-

framing the code of nautical laws, which were published at Wisby, the capital city of the isle of Gothland.

b The love of money is here assigned as the cause of that state of slavery in which the Suiones were content to live. The observation is worthy of Tacitus, who upon this occasion called to mind the good old republic, and knew that the great revolution that happened, was occasioned by a total change of principle ; that is, by substituting a passion for riches in the room of ancient virtue.

c The Frozen Ocean, which begins in latitude 81, can scarce be deemed navigable. That this sea was meant by Tacitus is by no means certain. It is more probable that he had in contemplation the northern extremity of the Baltic Sea, with the gulfs of Finland and Bothnia, which are frozen every winter, and, consequently, impracticable to mariners.

d It is well known that in the northern climates, the sun, in some latitudes, is above the horizon during the four-and-twenty hours ; in others still more to the north, an entire month, and at the Pole full six months. Astronomy was not well understood in the days of Tacitus : hence the idea of the sun emerging out of the sea, and the horses of the god being visible.

e The ancients thought that the ocean was the boundary of nature, and that no land lay beyond it.

f The Æstyans inhabited the kingdom of Prussia, Samogitia and Courland, and the palatinate of Livonia.

g *Frea*, or *Frica*, was deemed to be the mother of the gods.



stat. Rarus ferri, frequens fustium usus. Frumenta ceterosque fructus patientius, quam pro solita Germanorum inertia, laborant. Sed et mare scrutantur, ac soli omnium succinum, quod ipsi ‘Glesum’ (*h*) vocant, inter vada atque in ipso litore legunt. Nec, quæ natura, quæve ratio gignat, ut barbaris, quæsitum compertumve. Diu quin etiam inter cetera ejectamenta maris jacebat, donec luxuria nostra dedit nomen : ipsis in nullo usu : rude legitur, informe perfertur, pretiumque mirantes accipiunt. Succum tamen arborum esse intelligas, quia terrena quædam atque etiam volucris animalia plerumque interlucent, quæ implicata humore, mox, durescente materia, cluduntur. Fecundiora igitur nemora lucosque, sicut Orientis secretis, ubi thura balsamaque sudantur, ita Occidentis insulis terrisque inesse, crediderim ; quæ vicini solis radiis expressa atque liquentia in proximum mare labuntur, ac vi tempestatum in adversa litora exundant. Si naturam succini admoto igne tentes, in modum tedæ accenditur, alitque flammam pinguem et olentem : mox ut in picem resinamve lentescit. Suionibus Sitonum (*i*) gentes continuantur. Cetera similes : uno differunt, quod femina dominatur : in tantum non modo a libertate, sed etiam a servitute degenerant.

XLVI. Hic Sæviæ finis. Peucinorum (*j*) Venedorumque et Fennorum nationes Germanis an Sarmatis (*k*) adscribam, dubito : quamquam Peucini, quos quidam Bas-

*h* Pliny (b. xxxviii. s. 3.) agrees with Tacitus, that amber, or *succinum*, was by the Germans called *glessum* ; a word latinized from *gless*, or *glass*.

*i* The Sitones, according to Brotier and others, were the inhabitants of Norway ; and since they are mentioned as a people included in the general name of the Suevian nation, an idea may be formed of the vast extent of that prodigious territory, reaching from the Baltic to the Danube.

*j* The Peucinians, often known by the name of Bastarnians, and so called by Pliny, dwelt on the eastern side of Germany, and extended as far as the island now called Piczina, which is formed by the branches of the Danube, near the Pontic Sea. The territory of the Venedians, a contiguous people, lay on the north-east side of Germany, and stretched over a long tract of country as far as the Sinus Venedicus, now the gulf of Dantzic. The Fennians are described by Pliny, who calls their country Eningia, but, as Brotier observes, the better reading seems to be Feningia ; now Finland, a province of Sweden.

*k* Sarmatia was divided from Germany by the Vistula, and a range of mountains ; but still we find that towards the north, part of the country on the east side of that river was supposed to belong to Germany, and was called Germania Transvistulana. Tacitus, however, assigns all beyond Vistula to Sarmatia.

tarnas vocant, sermone, cultu, sede ac domiciliis, ut Germani agunt: sordes omnium ac torpor procerum: connubiis mixtis, nonnihil in Sarmatarum habitum fœdantur. Venedi multum ex moribus traxerunt. Nam quicquid inter Peucinos Fennosque (*l*) silvarum ac montium erigitur, latrociniiis pererrant: hi tamen inter Germanos potius referuntur, quia et domos fingunt et scuta gestant et pedum usu ac pernicitate gaudent; quæ omnia diversa Sarmatis sunt, in plastro equoque viventibus. Fennis mira feritas, fœda paupertas: non arma, non equi, non Penates: victui herba, vestitui pelles, cubile humus: sola in sagittis spes, quas, inopia ferri, ossibus asperant. Idemque venatus viros pariter ac feminas alit. Passim enim comitantur, partemque prædæ petunt. Nec aliud infantibus ferarum imbriumque suffugium, quam ut in aliquo ramorum nexu contegantur: huc redeunt juvenes, hoc senum receptaculum. Sed beatius arbitrantur, quam ingemere agris, inlaborare domibus, suas alienasque fortunas spe metuque versare. Securi adversus homines, securi adversus Deos, rem difficilimam adsecuti sunt, ut illis ne voto quidem opus esset. (*m*) Cetera jam fabulosa: 'Hellusios et Oxionas ora hominum vultusque, corpora atque artus ferarum, gerere:' quod ego, ut incompertum, in medium relinquam.

*l* The Fennians, or, in modern language, the Finlanders, were settled in Scandinavia, which was reckoned part of Germany.

*m* Having nothing, they were secure against the violence of men; and they had no reason to dread the vengeance of Heaven. Seneca has a similar sentiment. He says in commendation of poverty, What can be happier than that state, which promises perpetual liberty, without an idea of danger from man, without any thing to fear from the wrath of the Gods? Epist. xvii. The Hellusians and Oxionians, who are the last people mentioned by Tacitus, are supposed by learned antiquaries to have been inhabitants of Lapland. Nothing more is known of them, than that fame reported them to be an ambiguous mixture of the human countenance and the limbs of wild beasts. What gave birth to those ancient fables was, probably, the dress of the natives, who, in those regions of frost and snow, were covered with hides of animals, like the Samojedes, and other savage nations near the Frozen Ocean. But to amuse his readers with a fabulous narrative, was not the design of such an author as Tacitus. He was not writing a romance. He meant to give, upon the fullest information, an authentic account of a people, whose fierce and unconquerable love of liberty was, as he says himself, more dangerous to the Roman empire than all the pomp and pride of oriental monarchs. He has accordingly left, in his Treatise of the Germans, a faithful picture of society in its wild, uncultivated state. His work, compendious as it is, may be fairly called the most precious monument of antiquity.

THE  
LIFE  
OF  
CNÆUS JULIUS AGRICOLA.

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The Life of Agricola was written,

Year of Rome.

850

Of Christ.

97

Consuls.

Nerva, emperor, 3d time. }  
Verginius Rufus. }



**CL**ARORUM virorum facta moresque posteris tradere antiquitus usitatum, ne nostris quidem temporibus, quamquam incuriosa suorum ætas omisit, quotiens magna aliqua ac nobilis virtus vicit ac supergressa est vitium, parvis magnis.

que civitatibus commune, ignorantiam recti et invidiam. (a) Sed apud priores, ut agere memoratu digna prouum magisque in aperto erat; ita celeberrimus quisque ingenio, ad prodendam virtutis memoriam, sine gratia aut ambitione, bonæ tantum conscientiæ pretio ducebatur. Ac plerique, suam ipsi vitam narrare, fiduciam potius morum, quam adrogantiam arbitrati sunt: nec id Rutilio et Scauro (b) citra fidem aut obtrectationi fuit: adeo virtutes iisdem temporibus optime æstimantur, quibus facillime gignuntur. At mihi, nunc narraturo vitam defuncti hominis, venia opus fuit: quam non petissem, ni incusaturus tam sæua et infesta virtutibus tempora. (c)

II. Legimus, cum Aruleno Rustico (d) Pætus Thræsea, Herennio Senecioni (e) Priscus Helvidius laudati essent,

a Injustice to living merit proceeds from a variety of causes; from inattention, ignorance, or envy. We praise the past and neglect the present, says Tacitus, *Annals*, b. ii. s. 88.

b The two persons mentioned in this place, as having written memoirs of their own lives, were men of superior eminence, distinguished as well by their virtues as their abilities. Rutilius was consul A. U. C. 649, before the Christian æra 105. He had served in the wars in Numidia; and in the year of Rome 667, when Mucius Scaevola was appointed proconsular governor of Asia Minor, he was appointed by that virtuous citizen to the rank of lieutenant governor. Æmilius Scaurus was consul A. U. C. 639, before the Christian æra 85. He was descended from a patrician family; but, having only a moderate fortune, he owed his elevation to his talents. He bore for many years the honourable title of Prince of the Senate; a title which added nothing to his power, but gave him great weight and authority, implying superior merit, and pre-eminence in virtue.

c It has been already mentioned, that Agricola commanded in Britain in the time of Vespasian, Titus, and Domitian. The reign of the last is the evil period intended by Tacitus: see a description of it, *Hist.* b. i. s. 2.

d Arulenus Rusticus was tribune of the people A. U. C. 819, A. D. 66. Being then a young man of spirit, he wished to distinguish himself by an early display of those principles of honour, which marked his conduct through the remainder of his life. He intended by his tribunitian authority to prevent a decree against Pætus Thræsea. See *Annals*, b. xvi. s. 26. Being prætor, during the short reign of Vitellius, he was sent at the head of an embassy to treat of terms of accommodation with the generals of Vespasian's army, then at the gates of Rome; but neither the rank of ambassador, nor the character of the man, could protect him from the outrages committed by the soldiers. Arulenus Rusticus was wounded in the fray, and his lictor was murdered. *History*, b. iii. s. 80. He afterwards wrote the life of his friend Pætus Thræsea, and for that offence was condemned to die.

e Senecio was a native of Spain, born in the province of Bœtice,

capitale fuisse: neque in ipsos modo auctores, sed in libros quoque eorum sævitum, delegato Triumviris ministerio, ut monumenta clarissimorum ingeniorum in comitio ac foro urerentur. (*f*) Scilicet, illo igne vocem Populi Romani et libertatem Senatus et conscientiam generis humani aboleri arbitrabantur, expulsis insuper sapientiæ professoribus, atque omni bona arte in exsilium acta, ne quid usquam honestum occurreret. Dedimus profecto grande patientiæ documentum: et, sicut vetus ætas vidit, quid ultimum in libertate esset, ita nos, quid in servitute, adempto per inquisitiones et loquendi audiendique commercio. Memoriam quoque ipsam cum voce perdidissemus, si tam in nostra potestate esset oblivisci, quam tacere. (*g*)

III. Nunc demum redit animus: et quamquam, primo statim beatissimi sæculi ortu, Nerva (*h*) Cæsar res olim

where he filled the office of quæstor in the reign of Domitian, and never aspired to any higher honour. Not choosing to be a candidate for the magistracy, he was considered as an obstinate republican, hostile to the established government, and a friend to innovation. He wrote the life of Helvidius Priscus. The praise bestowed upon that excellent man inflamed the rage of Domitian. Mettius Carus, a notorious prosecutor of the best men in Rome, stood forth as the accuser of Senecio, who acknowledged himself the author of the book, but urged in his defence, that he wrote it at the desire of Fannia, the widow of Helvidius. Senecio, for his praise of Helvidius, was found guilty, and, to glut the cruelty of Domitian, adjudged to death. His work was burnt by the public executioners.

*f* The custom of destroying books is of ancient date, and was chiefly exercised under despotic governments. Before the invention of printing, there was no way of multiplying copies but by the industry of transcribers, and, at that time, the vengeance of men in power might succeed.

*g* Pliny describes the senate in a state of stupefaction, forgetting almost every thing, the liberal arts, and the rules and privileges of their order. In such times what useful knowledge could be acquired? The senate was convened to do nothing, or to be plunged in guilt and cruelty. They were either a laughing-stock, or the instruments of the vilest tyranny. The fathers were involved in the calamities of the times; the citizens of Rome groaned under oppression during a number of years; and, in that dreadful period, their faculties were debased, and the vigour of their minds utterly extinguished. Pliny, lib. viii. ep. 14. But amidst all this tame resignation, a sense of injuries, however suppressed, was rankling in every breast.

*h* On the death of Domitian, that emperor's acts were rescinded, and Nerva began his reign, A. U. C. 849; he adopted Trajan in October or November, 850, and died on or about the 21st January, 851. Trajan, from that time, was called Nerva Trajanus. As Nerva is not



dissociabiles miscuerit, Principatum ac libertatem, augeatque quotidie felicitatem Imperii Nerva Trajanus, nec spem modo ac votum Securitas publica, (*i*) sed ipsius voti fiduciam ac robur, adsumpserit: natura tamen infirmitatis humanæ tardiora sunt remedia, quam mala; et, ut corpora lente augescunt, cito extinguuntur, sic ingenia studiaque oppresseris facilius, quam revocaveris. Subit quippe etiam ipsius inertiae dulcedo: et invisa primo desidia postremo amatur. Quid? si per quindecim annos, (*j*) grande mortalis ævi spatium, multi fortuitis casibus, promptissimus quisque sævitia Principis interciderunt? Pauci, ut ita dixerim, non modo aliorum, sed etiam nostri superstites sumus; exemptis e media vita tot annis, quibus juvenes ad senectutem, senes prope ad ipsos exactæ ætatis terminos, per silentium venimus: non tamen pigebit, vel incondita ac rudi voce, memoriam prioris servitutis, ac testimonium præsentium bonorum composuisse. Hic interim liber honori Agricolæ, soceri mei, destinatus, professione pietatis aut laudatus erit, aut excusatus.

IV. Cnæus Julius Agricola, veteri et illustri Foro-Julien-  
ensium (*k*) colonia ortus, utrumque avum Procurato-  
rem (*l*) Cæsarum habuit: quæ Equestris nobilitas est.

called Divus, that is, the Deified Nerva, Lipsius and most of the commentators have inferred that Nerva was still alive. But how Trajan, in that short time between his adoption and the commencement of his reign, could be said to be every day increasing the public happiness, is not easy to comprehend. It seems more probable that he was emperor of Rome when Tacitus wrote the life of Agricola, and the compliment paid to him in section xlv. implies that he was then the reigning prince.

*i* The public security, Securitas Publica, was an inscription on the medals of the times.

*j* Fifteen years was the period of Domitian's reign. Tacitus speaks of it with horror, and promises to review the tyranny and abject slavery of those dismal times. It is to be regretted, that such a savage as Domitian has escaped from the pen of Tacitus.

*k* Forojulium was a colony in Narbonne Gaul, now called Frejus, or Frejules, situated at the mouth of the river Agens, on the Mediterranean, about forty miles north-east of Toulon.

*l* The management of all the foreign revenues was in the hands of the Roman knights. Augustus left the appointment of some of the provinces to the discretion of the Senate, and reserved others for his own nomination. The last were called *procuratores Cæsaris*, *imperial procurators*, and were either created Roman knights by virtue of their employment, or considered as of equal dignity. The money collected by the officers of the Senate was paid into the public trea-

Pater Julius Græcinus, (*m*) Senatorii ordinis, studio eloquentiæ sapientiæque notus, iisque virtutibus iram Caii Cæsaris meritus: namque M. Silanum (*n*) adcusare jussus et, quia abnuerat, interfectus est. Mater Julia Procilla fuit, raræ castitatis: in hujus sinu indulgentiaque educatus, per omnem honestarum artium cultum pueritiam adolescentiamque transegit. Arcebat eum ab inlecebris peccantium, præter ipsius bonam integramque naturam, quod statim parvulus sedem ac magistram studiorum Massiliam (*o*) habuerit, locum Græca comitate et provinciali parsimonia mistum ac bene compositum. Memoria teneo, solitum ipsum narrare, 'se in prima juvenia studium philosophiæ acrius, ultra quam concessum Romano ac Senatori, (*p*) hausisse, ni prudentia matris incensum ac flagrantem animum coercuisset.' Scilicet, sublime et erectum ingenium pulchritudinem ac speciem excelsæ magnæque gloriæ vehementius, quam caute, adpetebat: mox mitigavit ratio et ætas: retinuitque, quod est difficillimum, ex sapientia modum. Prima castrorum rudimenta in Britannia Suetonio Paullino, (*q*) diligenti ac moderato Duci, ad-

sury (*Ærarium*.) and that of the imperial procurators into the Fiscus, or exchequer of the prince.

*m* Seneca has given an admirable character of Agricola's father. If, says he, we need the example of a great and exalted mind, let us imitate Julius Græcinus, that excellent man, whom Caius Cæsar (Caligula) put to death for no other reason, than because he had more virtue than a tyrant could endure. *De Beneficiis*, lib. ii. s. 21.

*n* Marcus Silanus was highly respected, not only for his birth and rank, but also for his eminent virtues. He had the misfortune of being father-in-law to Caligula. He incurred the hatred of that tyrant by his honest counsels.

*o* This city, (now Marseilles) was founded by a colony of the Phœceans.

*p* Military science, a thorough knowledge of the laws, and the powers of eloquence, were the accomplishments by which a citizen of Rome raised himself to the honours of the magistracy, and the consulship. This was not only the case during the republic, but continued under the emperors. The man who devoted himself to the speculations of philosophy, or to a life of literature, could not, by those abstract studies, open his way into the Senate. Agricola was aware of this, and therefore relinquished the metaphysical systems, to which he felt himself strongly addicted.

*q* Suetonius Paulinus was sent by Nero to command in Britain, A. U. C. 814, and of the Christian æra 61. Of this officer, one of the ablest that Rome produced during the first century of the Christian æra, an ample character is given by Tacitus, *Annals*, b. xiv. s. 29.

probavit : electus, quem contubernio (*r*) æstimaret. Nec Agricola licenter, more juvenum, qui militiam in lasciviam vertunt, neque segniter, ad voluptates et commeatus (*s*) titulum Tribunatus et inscitiam retulit : sed noscere provinciam, nosci exercitui, discere a peritis, sequi optimos, nihil adpetere jactatione, nihil ob formidinem recusare, simulque anxius et intentus agere. Non sane alias exercitior, magisque in ambiguo Britannia fuit : (*t*) trucidati veterani, incensæ coloniæ, intercepti exercitus : tum de salute, mox de victoria, certavere. Quæ cuncta etsi consiliis ductuque alterius agebantur, ac summa rerum et recuperatæ provinciæ gloria in Ducem cessit ; artem et usum et stimulos addidere juveni : intravitque animum militaris gloriæ cupido, ingrata temporibus, quibus sinistra erga eminentes interpretatio, nec minus periculum ex magna fama, quam ex mala.

VI. Hinc ad capessendos Magistratus in urbem digressus, Domitiam Decidianam, splendidis natalibus ortam, sibi junxit : idque matrimonium ad majora nitendi decus ac robur fuit : vixeruntque mira concordia, per mutuam caritatem et invicem se anteposendo : nisi quod in bona uxore tanto major laus, quanto in mala plus culpæ est. Sors Quæsturæ (*u*) provinciam Asiam, Proconsulem Salvium

*r* Rank in the Roman armies, such as tribune or centurion, was the claim of merit. It was, for that reason, the custom of young men of illustrious families to attend in the train of the general, in order to learn the first rudiments of war, or, in the modern phrase, to *see service*. The young officer lived at headquarters. By learning to obey, he was taught how to command at a future time.

*s* There were so many candidates for the rank of tribune, that the general, in order to divide his favours, often granted those commissions for the term of six months. It is probable, however, that Agricola's merit obtained a full commission ; but he did not avail himself of his preferment to gain his *commeatus*, which Gronovius calls, *jus absentiæ a signis*, the right of being absent from the colours. Those exemptions from duty were often improperly granted to the great detriment of the service, as we see in the History, b. i. s. 46.

*t* While Suetonius was employed in the reduction of the Isle of Mona, now *Anglesey*, the chief seat of the Druids, and consequently the centre of superstition, the Britons, taking advantage of his absence, rose in arms ; and, headed by Boadicea, queen of the Iceni, attacked the Roman stations, and laid a scene of blood and carnage in every quarter. No less than 70,000 were put to the sword without distinction.

*u* The quæstorship was the first office entered upon by those who aspired to the higher magistracies. It might be undertaken at the age of twenty-four.



Titianum, dedit : quorum neutro corruptus est : quamquam et provincia dives ac parata peccantibus, et Proconsul in omnem aviditatem pronus, quantalibet facilitate redempturus esset mutuum dissimulationem mali. Auctus est ibi filia, in subsidium et solatium simul : nam filium ante sublatum brevi amisit. Mox inter Quæsturam ac Tribunatum (*v*) plebis atque etiam ipsum Tribunatus annum quiete et otio transiit, gnarus sub Nerone temporum, quibus inertia pro sapientia fuit. Idem Præturæ tenor et silentium : nec enim jurisdictio (*w*) obvenerat. Ludos et inania honoris moderationis atque abundantiae duxit, uti longe a luxuria, ita famæ propior. Tum electus a Galba ad dona (*x*) templorum recognoscenda, diligentissima conquisitione fecit, ne cujus alterius sacrilegium Respublica, quam Neronis sensisset.

VII. Sequens annus gravi vulnere animum domumque ejus adflixit : nam classis Othoniana, licenter vaga, dum Intemelios (*y*) (Liguriæ pars est) hostiliter populatur, matrem Agricolæ in præsiidiis suis interfecit : prædiaque ipsa et magnam patrimonii partem diripuit, quæ caussa cædis fuerat. Igitur ad solemnia pietatis profectus Agricola, nuntio adfectati a Vespasiano Imperii deprehensus, ac statim in partes transgressus est. Initia Principatus (*z*) ac statum

*v* The office of tribune owed its origin to a violent dispute between the patricians and plebians, A. U. C. 260 ; when the latter, making a defection could not be reduced to order, till they obtained the privilege of choosing some magistrates out of their own body, for the defence of their liberties, and to ward off all grievances imposed upon them by their superiors. At first two only were elected ; three more were added in a short time ; and, A. U. C. 297, the number increased to ten, which continued ever after.

*w* The office of prætor was first instituted in the year of Rome 389, to gratify the patrician order with a new dignity, in consideration of their having resigned the consulship to the choice of the people. Livy, b. vii. s. 1. In process of time, eight prætors were chosen annually, and had their separate provinces in the administration of justice.

*x* Nero was put to death, A. U. C. 821, of the Christian æra, 68. Galba succeeded, but reigned only a few months. Agricola was chosen for the due care of religion, and the protection of the public temples ; but the plunder committed by Nero, about three years before his death, could not be redressed.

*y* *Intemelium* was a municipal town in the country now called Vintimiglia, in the territory of Genoa. It was situated on the Mediterranean.

*z* Vespasian remained in Asia and Egypt, while his generals carried

urbis Mucianus regebat, admodum juvene Domitiano, et ex paterna fortuna tantum licentiam usurpante. Is missum ad delectus agendos Agricolam, integreque ac strenue versatum, vicesimæ legioni, tarde ad sacramentum transgressæ, præposuit, ubi decessor seditiose agere narrabatur : quippe Legatis quoque Consularibus nimia ac formidolosa erat.

VIII. Nec Legatus Prætorius ad cohibendum potens, incertum, suo an militum ingenio : ita successor simul, et ultor electus, rarissima moderatione, maluit videri invenisse bonos, quam fecisse. Præerat tunc Britannia Vettius Bolanus, (*a*) placidius, quam feroci provincia dignum est : temperavit Agricola vim suam, ardoremque compescuit, ne incresceret ; peritus obsequi, eruditusque utilia honestis miscere. Brevi deinde Britannia Consularem Petilium Cerialem accepit. Habuerunt virtutes spatium exemplorum. Sed primo Cerialis modo labores et discrimina, mox et gloriam communicabat : sæpe parti exercitus, in experimentum, aliquando majoribus copiis, ex eventu, præfecit : nec Agricola umquam in suam famam gestis exsultavit ; ad auctorem et Ducem, ut minister, fortunam referebat : ita virtute in obsequendo, verecundia in prædicando, extra invidiam, nec extra gloriam, erat.

IX. Revertentem ab legatione legionis D. Vespasianus inter patricos (*b*) adscivit, ac deinde provinciæ Aquitaniae (*c*) præposuit, splendidæ in primis dignitatis, adminis-

their victorious arms to the city of Rome, and proclaimed him emperor. His son Titus, in the mean time, carried on the siege of Jerusalem. Domitian was at Rome, but too young to conduct the reins of government. Vice and debauchery were more suited to his genius. Mucianus, the confidential minister of Vespasian, arrived at Rome, and took upon him the whole conduct of the administration.

*a* Vettius Bolanus was sent by Vitellius to command in Britain, after the abdication of Trebellius Maximus. He had served under Corbulo in Armenia, but, according to Tacitus, does not seem to have profited by the example of so great a master.

*b* The senators were not, of course, of the patrician order, as appears, *Annals* xi. s. 25, where we see the emperor Claudius adding the oldest of the fathers to the list of patricians ; the families of that rank, created by Romulus and by Brutus, and also those advanced by Julius Cæsar and Augustus, being well nigh extinguished. Vespasian exercised the same authority, and, under his patronage, Agricola rose to the honours of the state.

*c* The grand divisions of Gaul have been mentioned in the *Manners of the Germans*, section i. note (*a*). To that account it may be

tratione ac spe Consulatus, cui destinarat. Credunt plerique, militaribus ingeniis subtilitatem deesse; quia castrens jurisdictionis securae et obtusior, ac plura manu agens, calliditatem fori non exerceat. Agricola naturali prudentia, quamvis inter togatos, facile justeque agebat. Jam vero tempora curarum remissionumque divisa: ubi conventus ac judicia poscerent, gravis, intentus, severus, et sæpius misericors: ubi officio satisfactum, nulla ultra potestatis persona: tristitiam et adrogantiam et avaritiam exuerat: nec illi, quod est rarissimum, aut facilitas auctoritatem, aut severitas amorem, deminuit. Integritatem atque abstinentiam in tanto viro referre, injuria virtutum fuerit. Ne famam quidem, cui etiam sæpe boni indulgent, ostentanda virtute, aut per artem quæsit: procul ab æmulatione adversus conlegas, procul a contentione adversus Procuratores: (d) et vincere inglorium, et adteri sordidum, arbitrabatur. Minus triennium in ea Legatione detentus, ac statim ad spem Consulatus revocatus est. comitante opinione, Britanniam ei provinciam dari: nullis in hoc suis sermonibus, sed quia par videbatur. Hæc semper errat fama, aliquando et elegit. Consul (e) egregiæ tum spei filiam juveni mihi despondit, ac post Consulatum

proper to add, that a subdivision was made by Augustus, distributing the whole country into seven provinces; namely, Narbonne Gaul; Aquitania, the province of Lugdunum, or Lyons, properly Celtic Gaul; Belgic Gaul, and Upper and Lower Germany. These several districts, except Narbonne Gaul, were under the immediate management of the prince. The province of Aquitania was inclosed by the Pyrenean mountains, the Rhone, the Loire, and the Atlantic Ocean.

d The governors of provinces administered justice not only to the army, but likewise to the inhabitants. In discharging the functions of his station, Agricola took care to have no dispute, no contest with subordinate officers.

e In the year of Rome 830, and of the Christian æra 77, Vespasian was consul, eighth time, with his son Titus, the sixth. On the calends of July in that year, Brotier says, upon the authority of Muratori, *Annali d'Italia*, tom. i. p. 281, that Domitian and Agricola were appointed consuls for the remainder of the year. This practice was first introduced by Augustus, under the plausible pretence of having more frequent opportunities to oblige the illustrious families of Rome, but, in fact, to impair the dignity, and lessen the power of the consuls. The succeeding emperors adopted the same plan of policy; and the mischief went on increasing, till in the reign of Commodus there was no less than five and twenty consuls in one year.



conlocavit, et statim Britanniae præpositus est, adjecto Pontificatus Sacerdotio.

X. Britanniae situm populosque, multis scriptoribus memoratos, non in comparationem curæ ingeniive referam : sed quia tum primum perdomita est. Itaque, quæ priores nondum comperta, eloquentia percoluere, rerum fide tradentur. Britannia, insularum, quas Romana notitia complectitur, maxima, spatio ac cœlo in Orientem Germaniæ, in Occidentem Hispaniæ (*f*) obtenditur : Gallis in Meridiem etiam inspicitur : Septemtrionalia ejus, nullis contra terris, vasto atque aperto mari pulsantur. Formam totius Britanniae Livius veterum, Fabius Rusticus recentium eloquentissimi auctores, oblongæ scutulæ vel bipenni adsimulavere : et est ea facies citra Caledoniam, unde et in universum fama est transgressa : sed inmensum et enorme spatium procurentium extremo jam littore terrarum, velut in cuneum tennatur. Hanc oram novissimi maris tunc primum Romana classis circumvecta, insulam esse Britanniam adfirmavit, ac simul incognitas ad id tempus insulas, quas Orcadas (*g*) vocant, invenit domuitque : dispecta est et Thule (*h*) quadamtenus : nix et hiems adpetebat ; sed mare pigrum et grave remigantibus : perhibent, ne ventis quidem perinde adtolli : (*i*) credo, quod rariores terræ montesque, caussa ac materia tempestatum, et profunda

*f* Cæsar says that the western side extends towards Spain, and that Ireland, about half as large as Britain, lies opposite to that coast. *De Bell. Gall.* lib. v. s. 13.

*g* The *Orcades* (now the *Orkney* Islands) were known by the report of fame in the reign of Claudius. Some historians have ascribed the conquest to that emperor, but for this there does not seem to be sufficient foundation.

*h* Much has been said by the Greek and Roman poets of a place in the northern regions, called Thule ; but it is evident they did not all agree in the geographical description. Camden is of opinion that the *Thule* of Tacitus is one of the *Shetland* islands, which lie to the north of the *Orcades*, latit. 60. The ancient poets heard of *Thule*, and made their own use of it, to adorn their verse. *Thule* was, in general, understood to be the most remote land to the northern latitudes, but the exact local situation was not ascertained.

*i* From vague and uncertain accounts of the Frozen Ocean, the ancients might form their idea of a sea in such a thick and concrete state, that the oars could hardly move, and the winds scarcely agitate such a sluggish mass of water. But the tranquility of those seas has been long known to be a mere fiction. It is therefore needless to examine the reasons assigned by Tacitus, to account for a phenomenon which does not exist.

moles continui maris tardius impellitur. Naturam Oceani atque æstus neque quærere hujus operis est, ac multi retulere: unum addiderim: nusquam latius dominari mare, multum fluminum huc atque illuc ferre, nec litore tenus adcrecere aut resorberi, sed influere penitus atque ambire, et jugis etiam atque montibus inseri velut in suo.

XI. Ceterum, Britanniam qui mortales initio coluerint, indigenæ an advecti, ut inter barbaros, parum comperitum. (*j*) Habitus corporum varii: atque ex eo argumenta: namque rutilæ Caledoniam habitantium comæ, magni artus, Germanicam originem adseverant. Silurum colorati vultus et torti plerumque crines, et posita contra Hispania, Iberos veteres trajecisse easque sedes occupasse, fidem faciunt: proximi Gallis et similes sunt: seu durante originis vi, seu, procurrentibus in diversa terris, positio cœli corporibus habitum dedit: in universum tamen æstimanti, Gallos vicinum solum occupasse, credibile est. Eorum sacra deprehendas, superstitionum (*k*) persuasionem: sermo haud multum diversus, in deposcendis periculis eadem audacia, et, ubi advenere, in detrectandis eadem formido: plus tamen ferociæ (*l*) Britanni præferunt, ut quos nondum longa pax emollierit: nam Gallos quoque in bellis floruisse

*j* Through the want of literary records, the history of barbarous nations is generally lost in darkness. When the origin of a people could not be traced, the difficulty was surmounted, by supposing that the soil, by a certain fecundity in those early seasons of the world, produced the race of man. Mother earth, or Mater Tellus, satisfied the inquiries of the most profound philosophy. The sons of the earth were called *indigenæ*, *aborigines*, or natives of the soil. Men were supposed to spring from the bowels of the earth, from the trunks of trees, and even from rocks. But the age of darkness is past, and the reveries of ignorance have long since vanished.

*k* The Druids, according to Cæsar's account, believed in the transmigration of souls, and that doctrine they thought had a happy tendency to inspire men with courage, and a contempt of death. They taught their pupils a system of astronomy; they described the various revolutions of the planets, the dimensions of the globe, the operations of nature; they talked with reverence of the immortal gods, and initiated their youth in all their mysteries. *De Bell. Gall. lib. vi. s. 13.*

*l* Solinus, speaking of the warlike Britons, says, when a woman is delivered of a male child, she places the infant's first food on the point of her husband's sword, and inserts it in the little one's mouth; and offering up her supplication to the gods of her country, devoutly prays, that he may die in war amidst hostile swords and javelins. *Solinus, chap. 22.*

accepimus : mox segnitia cum otio intravit, amissa virtute pariter ac libertate : quod Britannorum olim victis evenit : ceteri manent, quales Galli fuerunt.

XII. In pedite robur : quædam nationes et curru præliantur : honestior auriga, clientes propugnant : olim Regibus parebant, nunc per Principes factionibus et studiis trahuntur : nec aliud adversus validissimas gentes pro nobis utilius, quam quod in commune non consulunt. Rarus duabus tribusve civitatibus ad propulsandum commune periculum conventus : (*m*) ita, dum singuli pugnant, universi vincuntur. Cælum crebris imbribus ac nebulis fœdum : asperitas frigorum abest. Dierum spatia ultra nostri orbis mensuram, et nox clara et extrema Britanniae parte brevis, (*n*) ut finem atque initium lucis exiguo discrimine internoscas. ‘Quod si nubes non officiant; adspici per  
‘noctem Solis fulgorem, nec occidere et exurgere, sed  
‘transire’ adfirmant. Scilicet extrema et plana terrarum, humili umbra, non erigunt tenebras, infraque cælum et sidera nox cadit. (*o*) Solum, præter oleam vitemque et cetera calidioribus terris oriri sueta, patiens frugum, fecundum : tarde mitescunt, scito proveniunt : eadem utriusque rei caussa, multus humor terrarum cœlique. Fert Britannia aurum et argentum et alia metalla, pretium victoriæ : gignit et Oceanus margarita, sed subfusca ac liventia.

*m* Literally, that a meeting is seldom had between two or three cities to repel the common danger. But the word Civitas is rarely used by the Latin historians, for what, in the modern acceptation, is called a city. Civitas generally implies a body politic, a people united in a civil society, under a settled constitution and a regular frame of laws.

*n* Tacitus, in this place, may be said to be out of his depth. His notions here, as well as in the passage concerning the Suiones in the Manners of the Germans, section *xlvi.* hold more of the poet than the philosopher. Astronomy and geography were sciences not sufficiently cultivated in his time.

*o* When Tacitus endeavours to assign a reason for the short interval between day and night, and says, *that the extreme and flat parts of the earth, casting a low shadow, do not elevate the darkness, and night falls beneath the sky and the stars*, it is impossible to strike out any thing like sense from a passage so very embarrassed and obscure Tacitus, it should seem, thought that the earth was one extensive continued surface, and that night was occasioned by the sun's retiring behind high lands and mountains. The form of the globe, its rotation on its axis, and the various positions in its annual orbit, are mathematical discoveries, which were not known to the Romans.



Quidam artem abesse legentibus arbitrantur : nam in rubro mari viva ac spirantia saxis avelli, in Britannia; prout expulsa sint, conligi : ego facilius crediderim, naturam margaritis deesse, quam nobis avaritiam.

XIII. Ipsi Britanni delectum ac tributa et injuncta Imperii munera impigre obeunt, si injuriæ absint : has ægre tolerant, jam domiti, ut pareant, nondum, ut serviant. Igitur (*p*) primus omnium Romanorum D. Julius cum exercitu Britanniam ingressus, quamquam prospera pugna teruerit incolas, ac litore potitus sit, potest videri ostendisse posteris, non tradidisse. Mox bella civilia, et in Rempublicam versa principum arma, ac longa oblivio Britanniae etiam in pace. Consilium id divus Augustus vocabat, Tiberius præceptum. Agitasse Caium Cæsarem (*q*) de intranda Britannia, satis constat, ni velox ingenio, mobilis pœnitentia, et ingentes adversus Germaniam conatus frustra fuissent. Divus Claudius (*r*) auctor operis, transvectis legionibus auxiliisque, et adsumpto in partem rerum Vespasiano : quod initium venturæ mox fortunæ fuit : domitæ gentes, capti Reges, et monstratus fatis Vespasianus.

XIV. Consularium primus Aulus Plautius (*s*) præpositus, ac subinde Ostorius Scapula, (*t*) uterque bello egre-

*p* Tacitus now proceeds to relate the progress of the Roman arms in Britain, from the first invasion of the Island by Julius Cæsar to the time when Agricola became commander in chief.

*q* Caligula's threatened invasion of Britain ended in an idle and vain parade. History has no scene of folly to compare with it. The German expedition presented a farce to the world, in which the emperor exposed himself to derision. His mock triumph over the Britons was a sequel to the former frolic, but still more absurd and ridiculous. See Suetonius, *Life of Caligula*.

*r* The Britons, unmolested by the Romans, had enjoyed their liberty near a century, when, in the reign of Claudius, the project of subduing the island was concerted. The most stupid of the emperors was destined to be the conqueror of Britain. A powerful army was sent from Gaul, under the command of able officers. The southern parts of the island being soon reduced, Claudius resolved to visit his new dominions. He took possession of Camelodunum (*Colchester*), received the submission of several petty kings, and in less than six months returned to Rome, to enjoy the splendour of a triumph, with the additional title of Britannicus. Suetonius, *Life of Claudius*, s. 17.

*s* Aulus Plautius was commander in chief of the army sent by Claudius to the invasion of Britain, A. U. C. 796, A. D. 43.

*t* An account of Ostorius Scapula and the brilliant success of his arms, is given by Tacitus, *Annals*, b. xii. s. 31 to 39.

gius : redactaque paulatim in formam provinciæ proxima pars Britanniae : addita insuper veteranorum colonia : (u) quædam civitates Cogiduno Regi donatæ : (is ad nostram usque memoriam fidissimus mansit :) vetere ac jam pridem receptâ Populi Romani consuetudine, ut haberet instrumenta servitutis et Reges. Mox Didius Gallus (v) parta a prioribus continuit, paucis admodum castellis in ulteriora promotis, per quæ fama aucti officii quæreretur. Didium Veranius excepit, isque intra annum exstinctus est. Suetonius hinc Paullinus biennio prosperas res habuit, subactis nationibus, firmatisque præsiidiis : quorum fiducia Monam (w) insulam, ut vires rebellibus ministrantem, adgressus, terga occasione patefecit.

XV. Namque absentia Legati remoto metu, Britanni agitare inter se mala servitutis, conferre injurias et interpretando accendere : (x) nihil profici patientia, nisi ut graviora, tamquam ex facili tolerantibus, imperentur : singulos sibi olim Reges (y) fuisse, nunc binos inponi : e quibus Legatus in sanguinem, Procurator in bona sævi- ret : æque discordiam Præpositorum, æque concordiam, subjectis exitiosam : alterius manus, Centuriones alterius, vim et contumelias miscere : nihil jam cupiditati, nihil libidini exceptum : in prælio fortiorem esse, qui spoli- et : nunc ab ignavis plerumque et inbellibus eripi domos, abstrahi liberos, injungi delectus, tamquam mori tantum pro patria nescientibus : quantum enim transisse militum, sisese Britanni numerent ? sic Germanias excussisse jugum : (z)

u The Romans had the precaution to establish a strong post, well garrisoned by a body of veterans. This was at *Camulodum*, in the territory of the Trinobantes, now the county of Essex.

v We read in the annals, that, as soon as the death of Ostorius Scapula was known at Rome, Claudius sent Aulus Didius to succeed to the command. See *Annals*, b. xii. s. 40. In this tract he is called Didius Gallus ; perhaps his name was Aulus Didius Gallus.

w Mona is the isle of *Anglesey*. It was the asylum of the Druids, and the capital of their religious rites.

x The general revolt of the Britons, and the massacre of the Romans, that followed in consequence of the discontents here painted in the strongest colours, are related at large in the *Annals*, b. xiv. s. 31 to 38.

y Instead of their own kings, whose power does not appear to have been sufficiently limited, the Britons now groaned under the oppression of two masters ; namely, the governor of the province, and the emperor's procurator.

z An allusion to the fate of Varus and his legions, which happened in the fortieth year of Augustus, A. U. C. 762, A. D. 9.

‘ et flumine, non Oceano, defendi : sibi patriam, conjuges, parentes : illis avaritiam et luxuriam caussas belli esse : recessuros, ut divus Julius recessisset, modo virtutes majorum suorum æmulerentur. Neve prælii unius aut alterius eventu pavescerent : plus inpetus, majorem constantiam, penes miseros esse. Jam Britannorum etiam Deos miserrari, qui Romanum Ducem absentem, qui relegatum in alia insula exercitum, detinerent : (a) jam ipsos, quod difficilimum fuerit, deliberare : porro in ejusmodi consiliis periculosius esse deprehendi, quam audere.’

XVI. His atque talibus invicem instincti, Boadicea, (b) generis Regii femina, Duce (neque enim sexum in imperiis discernunt) sumpsere universi bellum : ac sparsos per castella milites consecrati, expugnatis præsidiis, ipsam coloniam invasere, ut sedem servitutis : nec ullum in barbaris sævitiae genus omisit ira et victoria. Quod nisi Paullinus, (c) cognito provinciæ motu, propere subvenisset, amissa Britannia foret : quam unius prælii fortuna veteri patientiæ restituit, tenentibus arma plerisque, quos conscientia defectionis et propius ex Legato timor agitabat. Hic cum egregius cetera, adroganter in deditos, et, ut suæ quoque injuriæ ultor, durius consuleret, missus Petronius Turpilianus, (d) tamquam exorabilior : et delictis hostium novus, eoque pœnitentiæ mitior, compositis prioribus, nihil ultra ausus, Trebellio Maximo (e) provinciam tradidit. Trebellius segnior, et nullis castrorum experimentis, comitate quadam curandi provinciam tenuit. Didicere jam barbari quoque ignoscere, vitiis blandientibus ; et interven-tus civilium armorum præbuit justam segnitiae excusationem : sed discordia laboratum : cum adsuetus expeditionibus miles otio lasciviret. Trebellius, fuga ac latebris

a Paulinus was then employed in the isle of Anglesey.

b Boadicea was the daughter of Prasutagus, king of the Iceni.

c On the first intelligence of the revolt, and the dreadful slaughter that followed, Suetonius Paulinus abandoned the isle of Anglesey, and showed at once his conduct and his valour. See *Annals*, b. xiv. s. 31 to 38.

d Petronius Turpilianus succeeded to the government of Britain, A. U. C. 814, having just then closed the year of his consulship.

e The account of Trebellius Maximus, given by Tacitus in his History, differs a little from what is related in the passage before us. Being at variance with Roscius Cælius, an officer of a turbulent spirit, he was obliged to fly to Vitellius for protection, A. U. C. 822, A. D. 69. *Hist.* b. i. s. 60.



vitata exercitus ira, indecorus atque humilis, precario mox præfuit : ac velut pacti, exercitus licentiam, Dux salutem, hæc seditio sine sanguine stetit. Nec Vettius Bolanus, (*f*) manentibus adhuc civilibus bellis, agitavit Britanniam disciplina : eadem inertia erga hostes, similis petulantia castrorum : nisi quod innocens Bolanus, et nullis delictis invius, caritatem paraverat loco auctoritatis.

XVII. Sed, ubi cum cetero orbe Vespasianus et Britanniam recipavit, magni Duces, egregii exercitus, minuta hostium spes. Et terrorem statim intulit Petilius Cerialis, (*g*) Brigantum civitatem, (*h*) quæ numerosissima provinciæ totius perhibetur, aggressus : multa prælia, et aliquando non incruenta : magnamque Brigantum partem aut victoria amplexus, aut bello. Et, cum Cerialis quidem alterius successoris curam famamque obruisset, sustinuit quoque molem Julius Frontinus, (*i*) vir magnus, quantum licebat, validamque et pugnacem Silurum (*j*) gentem armis subegit ; super virtutem hostium, locorum quoque difficultates eluctatus.

XVIII. Hunc Britannix statum, (*k*) has bellorum vices media jam æstate transgressus Agricola invenit, cum et milites, velut omissa expeditione, ad securitatem, et hostes ad occasionem, verterentur. Ordovicum civitas, (*l*) haud multo ante adventum ejus, alam, in finibus suis agentem,

*f* Vettius Bolanus, a follower in the train of Vitellius, was appointed governor of Britain, A. U. C. 822. *Hist.* b. ii. s. 65.

*g* Petilius Cerealis served, at first, in Britain, under Suetonius Paulinus, *Annals*, b. xiv. s. 32. He fought afterwards on the side of Vespasian against Vitellius, *Hist.* iii. s. 59.

*h* The Brigantes, inhabited the counties of York, Durham, Cumberland, Westmoreland, and Lancashire.

*i* Julius Frontinus had the chief command in Britain, A. U. C. 826. He was one of the most eminent men of the age in which he lived ; a lawyer of profound knowledge ; a soldier formed both by theory and experience ; and, above all, a man not more distinguished by his talents than his virtues.

*j* The subjugation of the Silures, a fierce and obstinate enemy, gave the Romans quiet possession of the south of Britain.

*k* Our author hitherto, like a skilful biographer, has laid himself out to prepare the theatre of war, in which Agricola was to make so conspicuous a figure. His introduction is intimately connected with the ensuing narrative. From this place Agricola becomes the grand object of attention. He arrived in Britain in the summer, A. U. C. 831, A. D. 78.

*l* The Ordovices inhabited the counties of Flint, Denbigh, Caernarvon, Merioneth, and Montgomery, in North Wales.

prope universam obtriverat : eoque initio erecta provincia ; et, quibus bellum volentibus erat, probare exemplum, aut recentis Legati animum opperiri. Tum Agricola, quamquam transacta æstas, sparsi per provinciam numeri, præsumpta apud militem illius anni quies, tarda et contraria bellum inchoaturo, et plerisque custodiri suspecta potius videbatur, ire obviam discrimini statuit : contractisque legionum vexillis et modica auxiliórum manu, quia in æquum degredi Ordovices non audebant, ipse ante agmen, quo ceteris par animus simili periculo esset, erexit aciem : cæsaque prope universa gente, non ignarus, instandum famæ, ac, prout prima cesissent, fore universa, Monam insulam, (*m*) cujus possessione revocatum Paullinum rebellionem totius Britanniae, supra memoravi, redigere in potestatem animo intendit. Sed, ut in dubiis consiliis, naves deerant : ratio et constantia Ducis transvexit. Depositis omnibus sarcinis, lectissimos auxiliarium, quibus nota vada, et patrius nandi usus, quo simul seque et arma et equos regunt, ita repente inmisit, ut obstupefacti hostes, qui classem, qui naves, qui mare exspectabant, nihil arduum aut invictum crediderint sic ad bellum venientibus. Ita petita pace, ac dedita insula, clarus ac magnus haberi Agricola : quippe cui ingredienti provinciam, quod tempus alii per ostentationem, aut officiorum ambitum, transigunt, labor et periculum placuisset. Nec Agricola. prosperitate rerum in vanitatem usus, expeditionem aut victoriam vocabat, victos continuisse : ne laureatis (*n*) quidem gesta prosecutus est : sed ipsa dissimulatione famæ famam auxit, æstimantibus, quanta futuri spe tam magna tacuisset.

XIX. Ceterum animorum provinciae prudens, simulque doctus per aliena experimenta, parum profici armis, si injuriæ sequerentur, caussas bellorum statuit excidere. A se suisque orsus, primam domum suam coercuit ; quod plerisque haud minus arduum est, quam provinciam regere. Agere nihil per liberos servosque publicæ rei : non stu-

*m* Suetonius Paulinus had conquered Anglesey ; but the insurrection of the Britons, under Boadicea, did not leave him time to secure possession. The invasion by Suetonius was seventeen years before the final reduction of the place under the conduct of Agricola.

*n* The elder Pliny calls the laurel the messenger of joy and victory, being always affixed by the Roman generals to their letters of dispatch after success against the enemy, and also to the spears and javelins of the soldiers. Pliny, lib. xv. s. 30.

diis privatis, nec ex commendatione, aut precibus Centurionum milites accire, sed optimum quemque fidelissimum putare : omnia scire, non omnia exsequi : parvis peccatis veniam, magnis severitatem commodare : nec pœna semper, sed sæpius pœnitentia contentus esse : officiis et administrationibus potius non peccaturos præponere, quam damnare, cum peccassent. Frumenti et tributorum exactionem (*o*) æqualitate munerum mollire, circumcisis, quæ, in quæstum reperta, ipso tributo gravius tolerabantur : namque per ludibrium adsidere clausis horreis, et emere ultro frumenta, ac vendere pretio cogeabantur : (*p*) devortia itinerum et longinquitas regionum indicebatur, ut civitates a proximis hibernis in remota et avia referrent, donec, quod omnibus in promptu erat, paucis lucrosum fieret.

XX. Hæc primo statim anno comprimendo, egregiam famam paci circumdedit ; quæ vel incuria, vel tolerantia priorum, haud minus quam bellum timebatur. Sed, ubi æstas advenit, (*q*) contracto exercitu, militum in agmine laudare modestiam, disjectos coercere : loca castris (*r*) ipse care : æstuaria ac silvas ipse prætentare : (*s*) et nihil

*o* Brotier read *frumenti et tributorum auctionem*, and understands an increase of tributes. Other editions have *exactionem*, meaning the severity with which they were exacted.

*p* Each province paid to the Romans a tribute of corn, which, in general, was paid in kind. In those provinces which had voluntarily submitted to the dominion of Rome, the farmer delivered the tenth part of his crop. This was what in modern phrase is called *tythe corn*, *frumentum decumanum*. In the conquered provinces, the Romans exacted a gross quantity, fixing the bushel at a stated rate. This was called *frumentum stipendiarium*. Besides those two modes of collecting, it was further expected that the inhabitants of the several provinces should furnish, at a settled price, whatever was required for the use of government : this was called purchased corn, *frumentum emptum*. The provinces were further charged with a supply for the use of the proconsul, or governor ; but the price was arbitrary, at the will and pleasure of the governor himself. This was not always paid in kind. A composition was made in money, and this was called corn at a valuation, *frumentum æstimatum*.

*q* This was the second summer after Agricola arrived in Britain, A. U. C. 832, A. D. 79. Vespasian died this year on the 24th of June : Agricola, from that time, continued to command in Britain during the reign of Titus.

*r* Many vestiges of Roman camps are still to be seen in various parts of England.

*s* Agricola, as appears from all circumstances, marched his army from Anglesey, which had surrendered to his arms, through North



interim apud hostes quietum pati, quo minus subitis excursibus popularetur : atque, ubi satis terruerat, parcendo rursus inritamenta pacis ostentare. Quibus rebus multæ civitates, quæ in illum diem ex æquo egerant, datis obsidibus, iram posuere, et præsidiis castellisque circumdatæ, tanta ratione curaque, ut nulla ante Britanniæ nova pars inlaccessita transierit.

XXI. Sequens hiems saluberrimis consiliis absumpta : namque, ut homines dispersi ac rudes, eoque in bello faciles, quieti et otio per voluptates adsuescerent, hortari privatim, adjuvare publice, ut templa, fora, domus extruerent, (*t*) laudando promptos, et castigando segnes, ita honoris æmulatio pro necessitate erat. Jam vero Principum filios liberalibus artibus erudire, et ingenia Britannorum studiis Gallorum anteferre, (*u*) ut, qui modo linguam Romanam abnuebant, eloquentiam concupiscerent : inde etiam habitus nostri honor et frequens toga : paullatimque discessum ad delinimenta vitiorum, porticus et balnea et conviviorum elegantiam : idque apud inperitos ‘humanitas’ vocabatur, cum pars servitutis esset.

XXII. Tertius expeditionum annus (*v*) novas gentes aperuit, vastatis usque ad Taum (*w*) (æstuario nomen est) nationibus : qua formidine territi hostes, quamquam conflictatum sævis tempestatibus exercitum, lacescere non ausi : ponendisque insuper castellis (*x*) spatium fuit. Ad-

Wales, on his way to Caledonia. Tacitus does not directly say what road he pursued.

*t* Gordon, in his Itinerary, has described the remaining vestiges of a number of forts on the isthmus between the Forth and the Clyde, and also of a town, called Comelon, which, he says, is evidently a Roman work ; the ruins of ancient houses are still to be seen.

*u* La Bletterie, in his note on this passage, is alarmed for the honour of his country. He doubts whether Agricola was a competent judge ; in all events he appeals from the sentence. Brotier says, it is wonderful that Agricola, in rude and savage times, should be able to foretel the genius of a country, which has since produced Bacon, Milton, and Newton, not to mention others of great and illustrious talents.

*v* Agricola's third year was A. U. C. 833, A. D. 80.

*w* The river *Tay* issues out of *Loch-Tay* in *Breadalbin*, and running south-east, passes the town of Perth, and falls into the German Ocean at Dundee, where it is called the Frith of Tay.

*x* The principal fort built by Agricola was at Ardoch, in Perthshire, situated so as to command the entrances into two valleys, *Strathallan* and *Strathearn*. This fort, commanding two extensive valleys, seems to prove what Tacitus says, viz. that no general showed greater skill in the choice of advantageous situations.

notabant periti, non alium Ducem opportunitates locorum sapientius legisse : nullum ab Agricola positum castellum aut vi hostium expugnatum, aut pactione aut fuga desertum. Crebræ eruptiones : nam adversus moras obsidionis annuis copiis firmabantur : ita intrepida ibi hiems, et sibi quisque præsidio, inritis hostibus, eoque desperantibus, quia soliti plerumque damna æstatis hibernis eventibus pensare, tum æstate atque hieme juxta pellebantur. Nec Agricola umquam per alios gesta avidus intercepit : seu Centurio, seu Præfectus, incorruptum facti testem habebat. Apud quosdam acerbior in conviciis narrabatur, ut bonis comis, ita adversus malos injucundus : ceterum ex iracundia nihil supererat : secretum et silentium ejus non timeres : honestius putabat offendere, quam odisse.

XXIII. Quarta æstas (*y*) obtinendis, quæ percurrerat, insumpta : ac, si virtus exercituum et Romani nominis gloria pateretur, inventus in ipsa Britannia terminus. Nam Clota (*z*) et Bodotria, diversi maris æstibus per inmensum revectæ, angusto terrarum spatio dirimuntur : quod tum præsidii firmabatur : atque omnis propior sinus tenebatur, summotis velut in aliam insulam hostibus.

XXIV. Quinto expeditionum anno, (*a*) nave prima transgressus, (*b*) ignotas ad id tempus gentes crebris simul ac prosperis præliis domuit : eamque partem Britanniae,

*y* Agricola's fourth campaign was A. U. C. 834, A. D. 81.

*z* *Glota* or *Clota*, and *Bodotria*, were the names given by Ptolemy to those famous æstuaries, or arms of the sea. The *Clota* is now called Clyde, which rises in *Annandale*, and, after a wide circuit, falls into the gulf of Dumbarton, on the western side of Scotland, opposite to the isle of Bute. The *Bodotria* of Ptolemy is the river Forth, which rises in *Monteith*, and, after describing a number of beautiful meanders, discharges itself near Edinburgh, into an arm of the German Sea, called the *Frith of Forth*.

*a* Agricola's fifth campaign was in the summer A. U. C. 835, A. D. 82.

*b* We are now to see Agricola penetrating further into North Britain; but the laconic style of the author does not distinctly tell us on which side of the country the attempt was made. The commentators are much divided about the construction of the words, *nave prima transgressus*; *he sailed in the first ship*. Some of them will have it, that he embarked in the first ship of his fleet: but we have no account of a fleet in readiness for this expedition. The most natural and obvious sense is, he crossed the æstuary of the Clyde, in the first Roman vessel that was ever seen in those parts. It appears in the following section, that Agricola had no fleet till he ordered ships to be got in readiness for his sixth campaign.



quæ Hiberniam adspicit, copiis instruxit, in spem magis, quam ob formidinem: si quidem Hibernia, medio inter Britanniam atque Hispaniam sita, et Gallico quoque mari opportuna, valentissimam Imperii partem magnis invicem usibus miscuerit. Spatium ejus, si Britannia comparetur, angustius, nostri maris insulas superat. Solum cælumque et ingenia cultusque hominum haud multum a Britannia differunt, nec in melius. Aditus portusque per commercia et negotiatores cogniti. Agricola expulsum seditione domestica unum ex Regulis gentis exceperat, ac specie amicitiae in occasionem retinebat. Sæpe ex eo audiui, legione una (c) et modicis auxiliis debellari obtinerique Hiberniam posse. Idque etiam adversus Britanniam profuturum, si Romana ubique arma, et velut e conspectu libertas tolleretur.

XXV. Ceterum æstate, qua sextum officii annum (d) inchoabat, amplexus civitates trans Bodotriam sitas, quia motus universarum ultra gentium, et infesta hostili exercitu itinera, timebantur, portus classe exploravit: (e) quæ, ab Agricola primum adsumpta in partem viriam, sequebatur egregia specie, cum simul terra, simul mari bellum inpelleretur, ac sæpe iisdem castris pedes equesque, et nauticus miles, mixti copiis et lætitia, sua quisque facta, suos casus adtollerent: ac modo silvarum et montium profunda, modo tempestatum ac fluctuum adversa, hinc terra et hostis, hinc auctus Oceanus militari jactantia compararentur. Britanos quoque, ut ex captivis audiebatur, visa classis obstupesciebat, tamquam, aperto maris sui secreto, ultimum victis perfugium clauderetur. Ad manus et arma conversi Caledoniam incolentes populi, paratu magno, majore fama,

c Some of the historians of Ireland seem to be much offended with Tacitus, on account of the opinion here advanced; namely, that one legion with a body of auxiliaries, would be sufficient for the conquest of Ireland; and perhaps they are right. Courage has been, in every age, the distinguishing quality of that country. The Roman general would have found a people no less fierce and independent than the Caledonians; and it is probable, that, among the chieftains, there would have been many a *Galgacus* to stand forth in the cause of liberty.

d Agricola's sixth campaign was A. U. C. 836, A. D. 83; the second year of Domitian's reign.

e Agricola, in the third year of his expeditions, had penetrated, north of the Forth, as far as the Frith of Tay; (see section xxii.) but we are told by Tacitus, that the country was overrun, not conquered: nor was it sufficiently explored.



uti mos est de ignotis, oppugnasse ultro, castella (*f*) adorti, metum, ut provocantes, addiderant: regrediendumque citra Bodotriam, et excedendum potius, quam pellerentur, specie prudentium ignavi admonebant: cum interim cognoscit, hostes pluribus agminibus inrupturos. Ac, ne superante numero et peritia locorum circumiretur, diviso et ipse in tres partes exercitu incessit.

XXVI. Quod ubi cognitum hosti, mutato repente consilio, universi nonam legionem, ut maxime invalidam, nocte adgressi, inter somnum ac trepidationem cæsis vigilibus, inrupere. (*g*) Jamque in ipsis castris pugnabant, cum Agricola, iter hostium ab exploratoribus edoctus, et vestigiis insecutus, velocissimos equitum peditumque adsultare tergis pugnantium jubet, mox ab universis adjici clamorem; et propinqua luce fulsere signa: ita ancipiti malo territi Britanni: et Romanis redit animus, ac, securi de salute, pro gloria certabant: ultra quin etiam erupere: et fuit atrox in ipsis portarum (*h*) angustiis prælium, donec pulsi hostes; utroque exercitu certante, his, ut tulisse opem, illis, ne eguisse auxilio viderentur: quod nisi paludes (*i*) et silvæ fugientes texissent, debellatum illa victoria foret.

XXVII. Cujus constantia ac fama ferox exercitus, 'nil virtuti suæ invium: penetrandam Caledoniam, inveniendumque tandem Britanniae terminum continuo præliorum cursu,' fremebant: atque illi modo cauti ac sapientes, prompti post eventum ac magniloqui erant: iniquissima hæc bellorum conditio est: prospera omnes sibi vindicant, adversa uni imputantur. At Britanni non virtute, sed occasione et arte usos rati, nihil ex adrogantia remittere, quo minus juventutem armarent, conjuges ac liberos in loca tuta transferrent, cœtibus ac sacrificiis conspiratio-

*f* Traces of these forts and castles are still extant in *Fifeshire*, *Perth* and *Strathearn*.

*g* This battle, Gordon the antiquarian thinks, was fought in the county of *Fife*; and he draws his conclusion from the appearance of a Roman camp still to be seen at a place called *Loch-Ore*, about two miles from *Loch-Leven*.

*h* There were four gates to a Roman camp; one on each side of the circumference, accessible for the use of the baggage horses, and wide in case of a sally. The gates had their distinct names; *Prætoria*, *Decumana*, *Dextra* and *Sinistra*.

*i* The marshes and forests that protected the Caledonians were, most probably, *Loch-Leven*, and the woods that grew around it.

nem civitatum sancirent : (*j*) atque ita inrita is utrimque animis discessum.

XXVIII. Eadem æstate cohors Usipiorum, per Germanos conscripta, in Britanniam transmissa, magnum ac memorabile facinus ausa est. Occiso Centurione ac militibus, qui, ad tradendam disciplinam inmixti manipulis, (*k*) exemplum et rectores habebantur, tres liburnicas, adactis per vim gubernatoribus, adscendere : et uno remigante, suspectis duobus, eoque interfectis, nondum vulgato rumore, ut miraculum prævehebantur : mox hac atque illa rapti, et cum plerisque Britannorum, sua defensantium, prælio congressi, ac sæpe victores, aliquando pulsi, eo ad extremum inopiæ venere, ut infirmissimos suorum, mox sorte ductos, vescerentur. Atque ita circumvecti Britanniam, (*l*) amissis per inscitiam regendi navibus, pro prædonibus habiti, primum a Suevis, mox a Frisiis intercepti sunt : ac fuere, quos per commercia venundatos, et in nostram usque ripam mutatione ementium adductos, indicium tanti casus inlustravit. (*m*) Initio æstatis (*n*) Agricola, domestico vulnere ictus, anno ante natum filium amisit. Quem casum neque, ut plerique fortium virorum,

*j* All public resolutions were formed, among barbarians, at their carousing festivals in religious groves. It was in this manner that Civilis drew the Batavians and the Germans into a league against the Romans. See *Hist.* iv. s. 14.

*k* The *Manipuli* were companies of foot, as the *Turmæ* were of the cavalry. A cohort consisted of sixty companies, ten in each, amounting in the whole to six hundred men. Each cohort was commanded by a centurion.

*l* Tacitus has not mentioned the place from which these daring adventurers put to sea. Dio relates the same enterprise, but he also omits the port from which the voyage began. From both historians it may be fairly collected, that the outset of this desperate voyage was either from some port in Galloway, or from Cantire in Argyleshire, where Agricola had stationed his garrisons. The deserters, in the course of their voyage, landed at various places, and suffered by famine and other disasters, till they reached the eastern coast, where, and where only, the Romans were stationed in different encampments.

*m* The adventurers, having either sailed northward of the Orcades, or through the *Pentland Frith*, which divides those islands from the extremity of Scotland, reached the German Ocean; and thence, through want of skill in navigation, or driven by tempestuous weather, arrived at length in the Baltic, (*Mare Suevicum*) and landed on the coast of the Suevians.

*n* This was the summer in the year of Rome 837, A.D. 84, when Agricola opened his seventh campaign.

ambitiose, neque per lamenta rursus ac mærorem muliebriter tulit : et in luctu bellum inter remedia erat.

XXIX. Igitur præmissa classe, quæ pluribus locis prædata, magnum et incertum terrorem faceret, expedito exercitu, cui ex Britannis fortissimos et longa pace exploratos addiderat, ad montem Grampium pervenit, quem jam hostes insederant. Nam Britanni, nihil fracti pugnæ prioris eventu, et ultionem aut servitium exspectantes, tandemque docti, commune periculum concordia propulsandum, legationibus et fœderibus omnium civitatum vires exciverant. Jamque super triginta millia armatorum adspiciebantur, et adhuc adfluebat omnis juvenus, et quibus cruda ac viridis senectus, clari bello, ac sua quisque decora gestantes : cum inter plures Duces virtute et genere præstans, nomine Galgacus, (o) apud contractam multitudinem, prælium poscentem, in hunc modum locutus fertur :

XXX. ‘ Quotiens caussas belli et necessitatem nostrum  
‘ intueor, magnus mihi animus est, hodiernum diem, con-  
‘ sensumque vestrum, initium libertatis totius Britanniæ  
‘ fore. Nam et universi servitutis expertes, et nullæ ultra  
‘ terræ, ac ne mare quidem securum, imminente nobis clas-  
‘ se Romana : ita prælium atque arma, quæ fortibus  
‘ honesta, eadem etiam ignavis tutissima, sunt. Prior se  
‘ pugnæ, quibus adversus Romanos varia fortuna certatum  
‘ est, spem ac subsidium in nostris manibus habebant : quia  
‘ nobilissimi totius Britanniæ, eoque in ipsis penetralibus  
‘ siti, nec servientium littora adspicientes, oculos quoque

o In the chronicle of the kings of Scotland, *Galgacus* is called *Galdus* ; of which name, and its etymology, Gordon gives the following account ;—*Galgacus* was latinized by the Romans from two Highland appellations, viz. *Gald* and *Cachach* ; the first, *Gald*, being the proper name, and the second an adjection to it, from the battles he had fought ; it signifies the same as *præliosus* ; *Gald*, the fighter of battles ; which kind of nick-name is still in use among the Highlanders. In the speech ascribed to this gallant chieftain, we have a striking picture of Roman oppression. The various arts of those ambitious conquerors, and the vices of their government in the several provinces of the empire, are painted in glaring colours. The art of compressing in pathetic language, with precision and energy, all the topics that can inspire the heart of man with a generous love of liberty, is here displayed in full perfection. It may indeed be doubted whether *Galgacus* spoke what Tacitus has put into his mouth ; but that he harangued his men is highly probable. In those days no battle was fought without a speech from the general, to rouse and animate the valour of his army.



‘a contactu dominationibus inviolatos habebamus. Nos, terrarum ac libertatis extremos, recessus ipse ac sinus famæ in hunc diem defendit: nunc terminus Britanniae patet: atque omne ignotum pro magnifico est. Sed nulla jam ultra gens, nihil nisi fluctus et saxa: et infestiores Romani: quorum superbiam frustra per obsequium et modestiam effugeris: raptores orbis, postquam cuncta vastantibus defuere terræ, et mare scrutantur: si locuples hostis est, avaris si pauper, ambitiosi: quos non Oriens, non Occidens, satiaverit: soli omnium opes atque inopiam pari adfectu concupiscunt. Auferre, trucidare, rapere, falsis nominibus imperium; atque, ubi solitudinem faciunt, pacem adpellant.’

XXXI. ‘Liberos cuique ac propinquos suos natura carissimos esse voluit: hi per delectus, alibi servituri, auferuntur: conjuges sororesque, etsi hostilem libidinem effugiant: nomine amicorum atque hospitum polluntur. Bona fortunasque in tributum egerunt; in annum frumentum: corpora ipsa ac manus, silvis ac paludibus emuniendis, verbera inter ac contumelias, conterunt. Nata servituti mancipia semel veneunt, atque ultro a dominis aluntur: Britannia servitutem suam quotidie emit, quotidie pascit. Ac, sicut in familia recentissimus quisque servorum et conservis ludibrio est: sic, in hoc orbis terrarum vetere famulata, novi nos et viles in excidium petimur. Neque enim arva nobis, aut metalla, aut portus sunt, quibus exercendis reservemur. Virtus porro ac ferocia subjectorum ingrata imperantibus: et longinquitas ac secretum ipsum quo tutius, eo suspectius. Ita, sublata spe, veniæ, tandem sumite animum, tam quibus salus, quam quibus gloria, carissima est. Trinobantes, (*p*) femina Duce, exurere coloniam, expugnare castra, ac, nisi felicitas in socordiam vertisset, exuere jugum potuere: nos integri et indomiti, et libertatem non in præsentia laturi (*q*) primo statim congressu nonne os-

*p* The Trinobantes, or the people of Essex, joined the Icenians in the grand revolt under Boadicea. See this Tract, sect. xvi. and *Annals*, b. xiv. s. 31.

*q* This passage has occasioned much controversy among the commentators; but those gentlemen are often ingenious to no end but to perplex themselves. The text is susceptible of an easy and obvious construction; and it is this: we have been hitherto unsubdued, and therefore we are not now to taste of liberty for the first time; we have always enjoyed our rights; let us preserve them by our valour.

‘ tendemus, quos sibi Caledonia viros seposuerit ? An eadem Romanis in bello virtutem, quam in pace lasciviam, adesse creditis ?

XXXII. ‘ Nostris illi discessionibus ac discordiis clari, vitia hostium in gloriam exercitas sui vertunt : quem contractum ex diversissimis gentibus, ut secundæ res tenent, ita adversæ dissolvent : nisi si Gallos et Germanos et (pudet dictu) Britannorum plerosque, licet dominationi alienæ sanguinem commodent, diutius tamen hostes quam servos, fide et adfectu teneri putatis : metus et terror est, infirma vincula caritatis : quæ ubi removeris, qui timere desierint, odisse incipient. Omnia victoriæ incitamenta pro nobis sunt : nullæ Romanos conjuges accendunt : (*r*) nulli parentes fugam exprobraturi sunt : aut nulla plerisque patria, aut alia, est : (*s*) paucos numero, trepidos ignorantia, cælum ipsum ac mare et silvas, ignota omnia circumspectantes, clausos quodammodo ac vinctos Dii nobis tradiderunt. Ne terreat vanus aspectus et auri fulgor atque argenti, quod neque tegit, neque vulnerat. (*t*) In ipsa hostium acie inveniemus nostras manus : agnoscant Britanni suam causam : recordabuntur Galli priorem libertatem : deserent illos ceteri Germani, tamquam nuper Usipii (*u*) reliquerunt. Nec quidquam ultra formidinis : vacua castella, senum coloniæ, inter male parentes et injuste imperantes, ægra municipia et discordantia : hic Dux, hic exercitus : ibi tributa et metalla et ceteræ

*r* In consequence of the military system of the Romans, the soldiers remained in a state of celibacy. Severus owed the imperial dignity to the legions ; and to mark his gratitude, gave them leave to marry, and, by that and other indulgences, relaxed, and well nigh ruined, the discipline of the army.

*s* The conquered provinces furnished auxiliaries, and the legions were often recruited by levies raised in distant parts of the empire. Those soldiers were not interested in the cause of Rome : their native country was in different and remote places.

*t* The good sense, no less than the spirit, of the Caledonian warrior is seen in this remark. Livy has a similar passage. The plume and crest of the enemy can inflict no wound ; the Roman javelin can pierce the painted shield ; and the ranks of war, that display their glittering mantles, when attacked sword in hand, are soon discoloured with blood. Livy, lib. x. s. 39.

*u* The Usipians were auxiliaries from Germany, engaged in the quarrels of Rome ; but not feeling themselves interested in the cause, they determined to return to their own country, and with that design, committed themselves to the mercy of the winds and waves. See this Tract ; s. 28.

‘servientium pœnæ: quas in æternum perferre, aut statim ulcisci, in hoc campo est. Proinde, ituri in aciem, et majores vestros et posteros cogitate.’

XXXIII. Excepere orationem alacres et barbari moris cantu et fremitu clamoribusque dissonis. Jamque agmina et armorum fulgores, audentissimi cujusque procursu: simul instruebantur acies: cum Agricola, quamquam lætum et vix munimentis coercitum militem adhortatus, ita disseruit: ‘Octavus annus (*v*) est, commilitones, ex quo virtute et auspiciis Imperii Romani fide atque opera vestra Britanniam vicistis: tot expeditionibus, tot præliis, seu fortitudine adversus hostes, seu patientia ac labore, pæne adversus ipsam rerum naturam opus fuit: neque me militum, neque vos Ducis pœnituit. Ergo egressi, ego veterum Legatorum, vos priorum exercituum terminos, (*w*) finem Britanniae, non fama, nec rumore, sed castris et armis tenemus. Inventa Britannia, et subacta. Equidem sæpe in agmine, cum vos paludes montesve et flumina fatigaret, fortissimi cujusque voces audiebam,’ Quando dabitur hostis, quando acies? ‘Veniunt, e latebris suis extrusi: et vota virtusque in aperto, omniaque prona victoribus, atque eadem victis adversa. Nam, ut superasse tantum itineris, silvas evasisse, transisse æstuaria, pulchrum ac decorum in frontem; ita fugientibus periculosissima, quæ hodie prosperrima sunt. Neque enim nobis aut locorum eadem notitia, aut commeatum eadem abundantia: sed manus et arma et in his omnia. (*x*) Quod ad me adtinet, jam pridem mihi decretum est, neque exercitus, neque Ducis terga tuta esse. Proinde et honesta mors turpi vita potior; et incolumitas ac decus eodem loco sita sunt: nec inglorium fuerit, in ipso terrarum ac naturæ fine cecidisse.

XXXIV. ‘Si novæ gentes atque ignota acies constitisset, aliorum exercituum exemplis vos hortarer: nunc vestra decora recensete, vestros oculos interrogate. Ii sunt, quos proximo anno, unam legionem furto noctis adgressos,

*v* There is here a small mistake, the error perhaps of the copyist; as this, in fact, was Agricola’s seventh campaign.

*w* Under all former commanders, the scene of action was in that part of Britain called England. Agricola was the first Roman general that carried his victorious arms into Caledonia, and reduced that whole country as far as the Frith of *Tay*.

*x* Livy has a similar sentiment. The soldiers, he says, fixed their eyes on their arms and the swords in their hands, which they considered as their only hope. Lib. v. s. 42.



'clamore debellastis : (y) ii ceterorum Britannorum fugacissimi, ideoque tam diu superstites. Quomodo silvas saltusque penetrantibus fortissimum quodque animal contra ruere pavida et inertia ipsos agminis sono, pelluntur : sic acerrimi Britannorum jam pridem ceciderunt : reliquus est numerus ignavorum et metuentium : quos quod tandem invenistis ; non restiterunt, sed deprehensi sunt : novissime res et extremo metu corpora defixere in his vestigiis, in quibus pulchram et spectabilem victoriam ederetis. Transigite cum expeditionibus : inponite quinquaginta annis (z) magnum diem : adprobate Reipublicas numquam exercitui inputari potuisse, aut moras belli, aut caussas rebellandi.'

XXXV. Et adloquente adhuc Agricola militum ardor eminebat, et finem orationis ingens alacritas consecuta est, statimque ad arma discursum. Instinctos ruentesque ita disposuit, (a) ut peditum auxilia, quæ octo millia erant, mediam aciem firmarent, equitum tria millia cornibus adfunderentur : legiones pro vallo stetere, ingens victoriæ decus citra Romanum sanguinem bellanti, et auxilium, si pellerentur. Britannorum acies, in speciem simul ac terrorem, editioribus locis constiterat ita, ut primum agmen æquo, ceteri per acclive jugum connexi velut insurgerent ; media campi covinarius et eques strepit ac discursu complebat. (b) Tum Agricola, superante hostium multitudine, veritus, ne simul in frontem, simul et latera suorum

y An account of this attack, in which the legion, if Agricola had not arrived in time, would probably have been cut to pieces, is given in this Tract, sect. xxvi.

z Aulus Plautius undertook his expedition into Britain, A. U. C. 796. From that time to the battle now impending, one or two and forty years had elapsed ; Agricola did not think an exact statement necessary ; he was speaking to the passions, and therefore used an oratorical amplification.

a We are now on the point of a great and decisive action. The motives that incite both armies have been displayed with energy. On one side, the liberty of a people is depending ; on the other, the fate of the Roman army. The order in which the combatants were drawn up, is now presented to us, but with the usual brevity of Tacitus.

b From this passage it is evident, that while the Caledonians kept their post on the Grampian hill, and the adjacent heights, the plain was wide enough for the charioteers and cavalry ; but, in the heat of the engagement, they were drawn into narrow passes, where they could no longer act with vigour.

pugnaretur, diductis ordinibus, quamquam porrectior acies futura erat, et 'arcessendas' plerique 'legiones' admonebant, promptior in spem, et firmus adversis, dimisso equo pedes ante vexilla constitit.

XXXVI. Ac primo congressu eminus certabatur: simul constantia, simul arte Britanni, ingentibus gladiis et brevibus cetris, (c) missilia nostrorum vitare, vel excutere, atque ipsi magnam vim telorum superfundere: donec Agricola tres Batavorum cohortes (d) ac Tungrorum duas cohortatus est, ut rem ad mucrones ac manus adducerent: quod et ipsis, vetustate militiæ, exercitatum, et hostibus inhabile, parva scuta et enormes gladios gerentibus: nam Britannorum gladii sine mucrone (e) complexum armorum, et in aperto pugnam non tolerabant. Igitur, ut Batavi miscere ictus, ferire umbonibus, ora fœdare, et stratis qui in æquo obstiterant, erigere in colles aciem cœpere, ceteræ cohortes, æmulatione et inpetu commistæ, proximos quosque cedere: ac plerique semineces, aut integri, festinatione victoriæ, relinquebantur. Interim equitum turmæ fugere, covinarii (f) peditum se prælio miscuere: et, quamquam recentem terrorem intulerant, densis tamen

c These targets, were made of oziars, or boards, covered over with leather. The Caledonians, who fought on this occasion, left the fashion of their armour, as well as an example of courage, to late posterity. The broad sword and target are well known to have been, in modern times, the peculiar arms of the Highlanders.

d The Batavians, after their revolt under Civilis, which ended A. U. C. 823, A. D. 70. (see *Hist. b. v. s. 26.*) renewed their ancient friendship with the Romans. Several inscriptions on altars, having *Cohors prima Batavorum* engraved on them, have been dug up in the north of England.

e Brotier observes, from Vegetius, b. i. s. 12, that the Britons fought with the edge of their sword, and cut and hewed the enemy. The Romans on the contrary, made use of the point, and, in close engagement, had greatly the advantage.

f The British warrior in his chariot is here called *Covinarius*, the driver of a *corinus*. The name used by Cæsar for the Britons' warlike chariot is *essedæ*. Their way of fighting in those vehicles, he tells us, is as follows; they first drive round all parts of the lines, throwing their darts, and, by the very terror of their horses, and the rattling of their wheels, disordering the ranks of the enemy. When they have forced their way into the body of the cavalry, they leap from their chariots, and fight on foot. Meanwhile the drivers retire a little way from the combat, and place themselves in such a manner as to favour the retreat of their comrades, should they be overpowered by the enemy. *Bell. Gall. lib. iv. s. 33.* Duncan's *Cæsar*, b. iv. s. 29.

hostium agminibus et inæqualibus locis hærebant : minimeque equestris ea pugnæ facies erat, cum ægre diu stantes, simul equorum corporibus inPELLERENTUR, ac sæpe vagi currus, exterriti sine rectoribus equi, ut quemque formido tulerat, transversos, aut obvios incursabant.

XXXVII. Et Britanni, qui adhuc pugnæ expertes summa collium insederant, et paucitatem nostrorum vacui spernebant, degredi paullatim, et circumire terga vincentium cœperant : ni id ipsum veritus Agricola, quatuor equitum alas, ad subita belli retentas, venientibus opposuisset, quantoque ferocius accurerant, tanto acrius pulsos in fugam disjecisset. Ita consilium Britannorum in ipsos versum : transvectæque præcepto Ducis a fronte pugnantium alæ, aversam hostium aciem invasere. Tum vero patentibus locis grande et atrox spectaculum : sequi, vulnerare, capere atque eosdem, oblatis aliis, trucidare. (g) Jam hostium, prout cuique ingenium erat, catervæ armatorum paucioribus terga præstare, quidam inermes ultro ruere, ac se morti offerre. Passim arma et corpora et laceri artus et cruenta humus : et aliquando etiam victis ira virtusque : postquam silvis adpropinquarunt, conlecti. primos sequentium, incautos et locorum ignaros, circumveniebant. Quod ni frequens ubique Agricola validas et expeditas cohortes, indaginis modo, et, sicubi arctiora erant, partem equitum, dimissis equis, simul rariores silvas equitem persultare jussisset, acceptum aliquod vulnus per nimiam fiduciam foret. Ceterum, ubi compositos firmis ordinibus sequi rursus videre, in fugam versi, non agminibus, ut prius, nec alius alium respectantes, rari et vitabundi invicem, longinqua atque avia petiere : finis sequendi nox et satietas fuit, cæsa hostium ad decem millia : nostrorum trecenti sexaginta cecidere : in quis Aulus Atticus, (h) Præfectus cohortis, juvenili ardore et ferocia equi hostibus inlatus.

g Longinus has observed, that banishing copulatives is a great help to the grandeur of a sentence: when conjunctions are artfully discarded, the periods are poured along in such a manner that they seem to outstrip the thought of the speaker, He cites a passage in Xenophon as an example; closing their shields together, they were pushed, they fought, they slew, they were slain. In describing the rout of Catiline's army, Sallust says, they fled, they were followed, they were killed, they were taken—*Sequi, fugere, occidi, capi*. Tacitus saw the hurry, the force, the rapidity of the disjointed words in Sallust. and thought the passage worthy of imitation.

h Aulus Atticus was probably the præfect of a Tungrian cohort.



XXXVIII. Et nox quidem gaudio prædaque læta victoribus : Britanni palantes, mixtoque virorum mulierumque ploratu, trahere vulneratos, vocare integros, deserere domos ac per iram ultro incendere : eligere latebras et statim relinquere : miscere invicem consilia aliqua, dein separare : aliquando frangi adspectu pignorum suorum, sæpius concitari : satisque constabat, sævisse quosdam in conjuges ac liberos, tamquam misererentur. (*i*) Proximus dies faciem victoriæ latius aperuit : vastum ubique silentium, secreti colles, fumantia procul tecta, nemo exploratoribus obvi-  
us : quibus in omnem partem dimissis, ubi incerta fugæ vestigia, neque usquam conglobari hostes compertum, et exacta jam æstate spargi bellum nequibat ; in fines Hores-  
torum exercitum deducit. Ibi acceptis obsidibus, præfecto classis ‘ circumvehi Britanniam (*j*) præcepit : datæ ad id vires, et præcesserat terror : ipse peditem atque equites lento itinere, quo novarum gentium animi ipsa transitus mora terrerentur, in hibernis locavit. Et simul classis se-  
cunda tempestate ac fama Trutulensem portum (*k*) tenuit, unde proximo latere Britannia lecto omni redierat.

XXXIX. Hunc rerum cursum, quamquam nulla verborum jactantia epistolis Agricolaë auctum, ut Domitianus erat, fronte lætus, pectore anxius, excepit. Inerat conscientia, derisui fuisse nuper falsum e Germania triumphum, (*l*) emptis per commercia, quorum habitus et crines

*i* This picture of rage and despair, of tenderness, fury, and the tumult of contending passions, has all the fine touches of a master who had studied human nature. It often happens, that in the last extremity of despair, the mind is fired with sudden courage. Rather than fall with tame resignation, it rouses all its force, and by one vigorous effort, endeavours to signalize itself even in ruin.

*j* This circumnavigation is not related with sufficient accuracy. Agricola heard of the bold adventure of the Usipians (see sect. xxviii.) and resolved to gain further information ; but the place from which his fleet set out on the voyage, is not mentioned.

*k* The fleet in the mean time, sailed round the extremity of the island, and, having pursued the voyage along the western coast, and through the British Channel, arrived at *Sandwich*, called in the text *Portus Trutulensis*, probably by an error of the copyist, as the real name is *Rutupensis*, or *Rutupinus*.

*l* While Agricola was thus employed in extending the limits of the empire, and securing his conquests as far as the neck of land between the *Forth* and the *Clyde*, by a chain of forts and garrisons, Domitian (A. U. C. 837. A. D. 84) went on his mock expedition into Germany, and returned without seeing the face of an enemy.

in captivorum speciem formarentur : at nunc veram magnamque victoriam, tot millibus hostium cæsis, ingenti fama celebrari. Id sibi maxime formidolosum, privati hominis nomen supra Principis adtolli : frustra studia fori et civilium artium decus in silentium acta, si militarem gloriam alius occuparet : et cetera utcumque facilius dissimulari : Ducis boni Imperatoriam virtutem esse. Talibus curis exercitus, quodque sævæ cogitationis indicium erat, secreto suo satius, optimum in præsentia statuit, reponere odium, donec inpetus famæ et favor exercitus languesceret : (m) nam etiam tum Agricola Britanniam obtinebat.

XL. Igitur ' triumphalia ornamenta (n) et inlustris statuæ honorem et quidquid pro triumpho datur,' multo verborum honore cumulata, decerni in Senatu jubet : additque insuper opinionem, Syriam provinciam Agricolæ destinari, vacuum tum morte Atilii Rufi, Consularis, et majoribus reservatam. Credidere plerique, libertum ex secretioribus ministeriis missum ad Agricolam, codicillos, quibus ei Syria dabatur, tulisse, cum præcepto, ut, si in Britannia foret, traderentur : eumque libertum in ipso freto (o) Oceani obvium Agricolæ, ne adpellato quidem eo, ad Domitianum remeasse : sive verum istud, sive ex ingenio Principis fictum ac compositum est. Tradiderat interim Agricola successori suo provinciam quietam tutam-

m Pliny in his Panegyric on Trajan, has given a striking picture of Domitian in his dark retreat. That savage beast was shut up as it were in a den, where he quaffed the blood of his relations; and when he came forth, it was to riot in the destruction of the best and most illustrious citizens. Dismay and terror obstructed his door; and they, who were excluded, were as much in danger as those that gained admittance. The tyrant was horrible to the sight, and his approach was dreadful: pride in his aspect; anger in his eye; a feminine whiteness over his whole body; and in his countenance an air of arrogance, flushed with the deepest red. No man dared to approach him; none could speak to him; he remained in darkness brooding mischief, and never came forth from his solitude, but to make a worse solitude by the destruction of eminent men. *Panegy. Traj.* sect. xlviii.

n A real triumph, after the downfall of the republic, was reserved for the emperor only. The title of *Imperator* was assumed by the prince. At first it meant no more than *General in Chief*; but, as all power was centered in him, the word, in process of time, implied what is now understood by the appellation of *Emperor*.

o The straits of *Dover*.



que. (*p*) Ac, ne notabilis celebritate et frequentia occurrentium introitus esset, vitato amicorum officio, noctu in urbem, noctu in palatium, ita ut præceptum erat, venit: exceptusque brevi osculo, et nullo sermone, turbæ servientium inmixtus est. Ceterum, ut militare nomen, grave inter otiosos, aliis virtutibus temperaret, tranquillitatem atque otium penitus auxit, cultu modicus, sermone facilis, uno aut altero amicorum comitatus: adeo ut plerique, quibus magnos viros per ambitionem æstimare mos est, viso adspectoque Agricola, quærerent famam, pauci interpretarentur.

XLI. Crebro per eos dies apud Domitianum absens accusatus, absens absolutus est: caussa periculi non crimen ullum, aut quærela læsi cujusquam, sed infensus virtutibus Princeps, et gloria viri, ac pessimum inimicorum genus, laudantes. (*q*) Et ea insecuta sunt Reipublicæ tempora, quæ sileri Agricolam non sinerent: tot exercitus in Mæsia Daciaque, et Germania Pannoniaque, temeritate aut per ignaviam Ducum amissi: (*r*) tot militares viri cum tot cohortibus expugnati et capti: nec jam de limite Imperii et ripa, (*s*) sed de hibernis legionum et possessione dubitatum. Ita, cum damna damnis continuarentur, atque omnis annus funeribus et cladibus insigniretur, poscebatur ore vulgi Dux Agricola: comparantibus cunctis vigorem, constantiam et expertum bellis animum, cum inertia et formidine ceterorum. Quibus sermonibus satis constat Domitiani quoque aures verberatas, dum optimus quisque libertorum amore et fide, pessimi malignitate et livore, primum

*p* Agricola resigned the command A. U. C. 838, A. D. 85.

*q* Among artful and insidious courtiers, those, who are lavish of praise, are often the most inveterate enemies. Tacitus, in another part of his work, gives the reason: under a bad prince, a great name is as dangerous as a bad one. Praise a man, in the presence of a tyrant, for his popular virtues, and his ruin is sure to follow.

*r* These various disasters happened in the years of Rome 840 and 841. Oppius Sabinus, a man of consular rank, was defeated by the Dacians in Mæsia; the legions under him were put to the sword; the general's head was cut off, and exhibited on a pole, a public spectacle for the barbarians. In another engagement with the same enemy, Cornelius Fuscus met with a total defeat. In Germany and Pannonia various battles were fought with doubtful success, and great effusion of Roman blood. Suetonius has recorded these events, but in his usual style, content with a dry statement of facts. See the Life of Domitian, sect. vi.

*s* The Rhine and the Danube were, at this time, the boundaries that divided Germany from the Roman empire.



deterioribus Principem exstimulabant. Sic Agricola simul suis virtutibus, simul vitiis aliorum, in ipsam gloriam præceps agebatur.

XLII. Aderat jam annus, quo Proconsulatum (*t*) Asiæ et Africæ sortiretur, et occiso Civica nuper, nec Agricolæ consilium deerat, nec Domitiano exemplum. Accessere quidam cogitationum Principis periti, qui, iturusne esset in provinciam, ultro Agricolam interrogarent: ac primo occultius quietem et otium laudare, mox operam suam in adprobanda excusatione offerre: postremo non jam obscuri, suadentes simul terrentesque, pertraxere ad Domitianum: qui paratus simulationi, in adrogantiam compositus, et audiit preces excusantis, et, cum adnuisset, agi sibi gratias passus est: nec erubuit beneficii invidia: (*u*) salarium tamen, Proconsulari solitum offerri, et quibusdam a seipso concessum, Agricolæ non dedit; (*v*) sive offensus non petatum, sive ex conscientia, ne, quod vetuerat, videretur emisse. Proprium humani ingenii est, odisse, quem læseris: Domitiani vero natura præceps in iram, et, quo obscurior, eo inrevocabilior, (*w*) moderatione tamen prudentiaque Agri-

*t* In the several provinces which were left by Augustus under the management of the senate, the governors, according to ancient usage, were changed at the end of the year. The senators, who had five years before discharged the office either of consul or prætor, had a right to be candidates for the employment. The senate named a competent number, and the persons so elected drew lots for their provinces, and, whether consuls or prætors, they were without distinction, called by the general title of proconsular governors.

*u* Under the worst of the emperors, men were obliged, by a refinement in tyranny, to receive injuries, and to be grateful for them. Tacitus mentions several persons, who were injured in their rights, and yet, being inured to slavery, they returned thanks to Vitellius. *Hist. lib. ii. s. 71.* Seneca relates the answer of an old courtier, when he was asked how he arrived at a thing so uncommon among the attendants of princes as a sound old age? It was, replied the veteran, by receiving injuries, and returning thanks. *De Ira, lib. ii. sect. 3.*

*v* In the time of the old republic, the governors of provinces served their country without any salary annexed to their office. It was seen, however, by Augustus, that, by an unprofitable and gratuitous service, men were exposed to various temptations; and, accordingly, that emperor, to leave avarice and rapacity without an excuse, established a regular allowance for each different province.

*w* Hatred is always a dark, a covered, and a lurking passion; the more concealed, the more implacable: so it was with Domitian, and we have seen the same feature of character in Tiberius. *Annals, b. s. 13.*

colæ leniebatur : quia non contumacia, neque inani jactatione libertatis, famam fatumque provocabat. Sciant, quibus moris, illicita mirari, posse etiam sub malis Principibus magnos viros esse : obsequiumque ac modestiam, si industria ac vigor adsint, eo laudis excedere, quo plerique per abrupta, sed in nullum Reipublicæ usum, ambitiosa morte inclauerunt.

XLIII. Finis vitæ ejus nobis luctuosus, amicis tristis, extraneis etiam ignotisque non sine cura fuit. Vulgus quoque, et hic aliud agens populus, et ventitavere ad domum, et per fora et circulos locuti sunt : nec quisquam, audita morte Agricolæ, aut lætatus est, aut statim oblitus. Angebat miserationem constans rumor, ‘veneno interceptum.’ (x) Nobis nihil comperti adfirmare ausim : ceterum per omnem valetudinem ejus, crebrius quam ex more Principatus, per nuntios visentis, et libertorum primi, et medicorum intimi venire : sive cura illud, sive inquisitio erat. Supremo quidem die, momenta deficientis per dispositos cursores nuntiata constabat, nullo credente, sic accelerari, quæ tristis audiret. Speciem tamen doloris animo vultuque præ se tulit, securus jam odii, et qui facilius dissimularet gaudium, quam metum. Satis constabat, lecto testamento Agricolæ, quo coheredem optimæ uxori et piissimæ filiæ Domitianum scripsit, lætatum eum, velut honore judicioque : tam cæca et corrupta mens adsiduis adulationibus erat, ut nesciret, a bono patre non scribi heredem, nisi malum Principem.

XLIV. Natus erat Agricola, Caio Cæsare tertium Consule Idibus Juniis : excessit sexto et quinquagesimo anno, (y) decimo Calendas Septembres Collega Priscoque coss.

x From the manner in which Tacitus states this charge, it may be inferred that he gave no credit to it; and yet Dio does not hesitate to confirm the story. Suetonius is silent on the subject. But the Greek historian is often bold in assertion, and frequently deficient in point of truth, or historical evidence. If we believe him, Agricola, after his return from the conquest of Britain, passed the remainder of his days in distress and poverty : but Tacitus on the contrary, assures us, that, though he did not possess immoderate wealth, he enjoyed a decent affluence. The Roman historian had the best means of information.

y There seems, in this place, to be some mistake, not, however, imputable to Tacitus, but, more probably, to the transcribers, who in their manuscript might easily write LVI. instead of LIV. Caligula's third consulship was A. U. C. 793, A.D. 40. Agricola was born on the 13th of June in that year; he died on the 10th of the calends



Quod si habitum quoque ejus posteri noscere velint; decentior quam sublimior fuit: nihil metus in vultu: gratia oris supererat: bonum virum facile crederes, magnum libenter. Et ipse quidem, quamquam medio in spatio integræ ætatis ereptus, quantum ad gloriam, longissimum ævum peregit. Quippe et vera bona, quæ in virtutibus sita sunt, inpleverat, et Consularibus ac triumphalibus ornamentis prædito, quid aliud adstruere fortuna poterat? Opibus nimis non gaudebat; speciosæ contigerant: filia atque uxore superstitibus, potest videri etiam beatus; incolumi dignitate, florente fama, salvis adfinitatibus et amicitis, futura effugisse. Nam, sicuti durare in hac beatissimi sæculi luce, ac Principem Trajanum (z) videre, quodam augurio votisque apud nostras aures ominabatur: ita festinatæ mortis grande solatium tulit, evasisse postremum illud tempus, quo Domitianus, non jam per intervalla ac spiramenta temporum, sed continuo et velut uno ictu, Rempublicam exhausit. (a)

XLV. Non vidit Agricola obsessam curiam, et clausum armis Senatum, (b) et eadem strage tot Consularium cædes, tot nobilissimarum feminarum exsilia et fugas. Una adhuc victoria Carus Metius censebatur, et intra Albanam arcem sententia Messalini strepebat, et Massa Bebius jam tum reus erat. Mox nostræ duxere Helvidium in carcerem manus: nos Maurici Rusticique (c) divisus, nos innocenti

of September; that is the 23d of August, in the consulship of Pompeius Collega and Cornelius Priscus, A. U. C. 846, A. D. 93. According to this account, Agricola, on the 13th of June, A. U. C. 846, entered on the fifty-fourth year of his age, and died in the month of August following. It is, therefore, probable, that the copyists, as already observed, inserted in their manuscript *fifty-six* for *fifty-four*.

z From the passage before us there is reason to conclude, that this Tract was published, when Trajan was in possession of the imperial dignity.

a Seneca gives the same account of Caligula; a man who meditated the destruction of the whole senate, who wished that the Roman people had but one neck, that he might glut his love of blood at a single stroke. *De Ira*, lib. iii. s. 19.

b In a short time after the death of Agricola, towards the end of the year of Rome 846, the rage of Domitian broke out with collected violence, and like a tempest swept away numbers of both sexes, all distinguished by their virtues no less than by their illustrious rank.

c Mauricius and Arulenus Rusticus were brothers, united not only by the ties of natural affection, but by their manners and congenial virtues. They were cruelly separated in the sight of the senate, when Rusticus was hurried away to execution, and Mauricius ordered into banishment.



sanguine Senecio (*d*) perfudit. Nero tamen subtraxit oculos, jussitque scelera, non spectavit: præcipua sub Domitiano miseriarum pars erat, videre et adspici: cum suspiria nostra subscriberentur: cum denotandis tot hominum palloribus sufficeret sævus ille vultus et rubor, (*e*) quo se contra pudorem muniebat. Tu vero felix, Agricola, non vitæ tantum claritate, sed etiam opportunitate mortis (ut perhibent, qui interfuerunt novissimis sermonibus tuis) constans et libens fatum excepisti; tamquam pro virili portione innocentiam Principi donares. Sed mihi filiæque, præter acerbitem parentis erepti, auget mæstitiam, quod adsidere valetudini, fovere deficientem, satiari vultu, complexu, non contigit: excepissemus certe mandata vocesque, quas penitus animo figeremus. Noster hic dolor, nostrum vulnus: nobis tam longæ absentiæ conditione ante quadriennium amissus es. (*f*) Omnia sine dubio, optime parentum, adsidente amantissima uxore, superfuere honori tuo: paucioribus tamen lacrimis compositus es, et novissima in luce desideravere aliquid oculi tui.

XLVI. Si quis piorum manibus locus; si, ut sapientibus placet, non cum corpore exstinguuntur magnæ animæ: (*g*)

*d* The senate, amidst all these tragic issues, sat without voice or sentiment; a timid and speechless assembly, as Pliny has it, *Curia timida et elinguis*. They submitted, with passive obedience, to the tyrant's will; and therefore Tacitus says that their hands were imbrued in the blood of Senecio. See sect. ii.

*e* Domitian's complexion was of so deep a red that nothing could add to his natural colour, and he was therefore said by Pliny to be a man of unblushing arrogance. See sect. xxxix. note (*m*).

*f* Tacitus and his wife, at the time of Agricola's death, had been four years absent from Rome; on what account we are no where told. Some critics suppose, that he was banished by Domitian; but this seems to be without foundation.

*g* Tacitus, in this place, speaks hypothetically, but with an apparent disposition to embrace the system of the best and wisest men, and, it may be added, the persuasion of mankind in every age and nation. That the soul of man is not extinguished with his animal life, but passes, in that awful moment, into some new region of existence, or transmigrates into some other being, has been, at all times, the opinion, or the conjecture, or the wish, of the rudest and most savage tribes; and this universal consent, Cicero observes in the first Tusculan, is the law of nature speaking in the human heart. If the immortality of the soul was not a settled article of the creed of Tacitus, at a time when the light of revelation was not yet diffused over the Christian world, it is however probable, that he, who possessed a comprehensive and sublime understanding, was not content with the

placide quiescas, nosque, domum tuam, ab infirmo desiderio, et muliebribus lamentis, ad contemplationem virtutum tuarum voces, quas neque lugeri, neque plangi fas est : admiratione te potius, temporalibus laudibus, et, si natura suppeditet, æmulatu decoremus. (*h*) Is verus honos, ea conjunctissimi cujusque pietas. Id filiæ quoque, uxoriq[ue] præceperim, sic patris, sic mariti memoriam venerari, ut omnia facta dictaque ejus secum revolvant, famamq[ue] ac figuram animi magis quam corporis, complectantur : non quia intercedendum putem imaginibus, quæ marmore aut ære finguntur : sed ut vultus hominum, ita simulacra vultus inbecilla ac mortalia sunt ; forma mentis æterna : quam tenere et exprimere, non per alienam materiam et artem, sed tuis ipse moribus, possis. Quidquid ex Agricola amavimus, quidquid mirati sumus, manet mansurumque est in animis hominum, in æternitate temporum, fama rerum. Nam multos veterum, velut inglorios et ignobiles, oblivio obruet : (*i*) Agricola, posteritati narratus et traditus, superstes erit.

grovelling notion of falling into nothing, but aspired, and wished, and hoped, to enjoy a future state of immortality. He was conscious of the dignity of human nature, and thence proceeded the fine address to the departed spirit of his father-in-law.

*h* The text is left by the copyists in a mangled condition. The words, as they stand, cannot be reduced to any kind of sense. *Admiratione te potius, temporalibus laudibus, et, si natura suppeditet militum decoremus.* Lipsius and Grotius have contributed their assistance. The former reads, *Admiratione te potius, te temporalibus laudibus*; and (instead of *militum*, which is totally unintelligible) Grotius adds, *similitudine decoremus.* Out of the word *similitudine* a bad transcriber might make *militum*. La Bletterie thinks it might be *æmulatu*.

*i* Pliny, the consul, returned thanks to Tacitus for desiring an account of the elder Pliny's death, that he might transmit it with truth to posterity. His uncle, he says, if celebrated by such a writer, will be immortal. Pliny, b. vi. epist. 16. That part, however, of our author's works has not come down to us, and the prophecy has so far failed. The prediction of Tacitus is completely verified : Agricola is rendered immortal ; he lives in the historian's page, and will continue to do so, as long as men retain a taste for the best and truest model of biography.

THE END.

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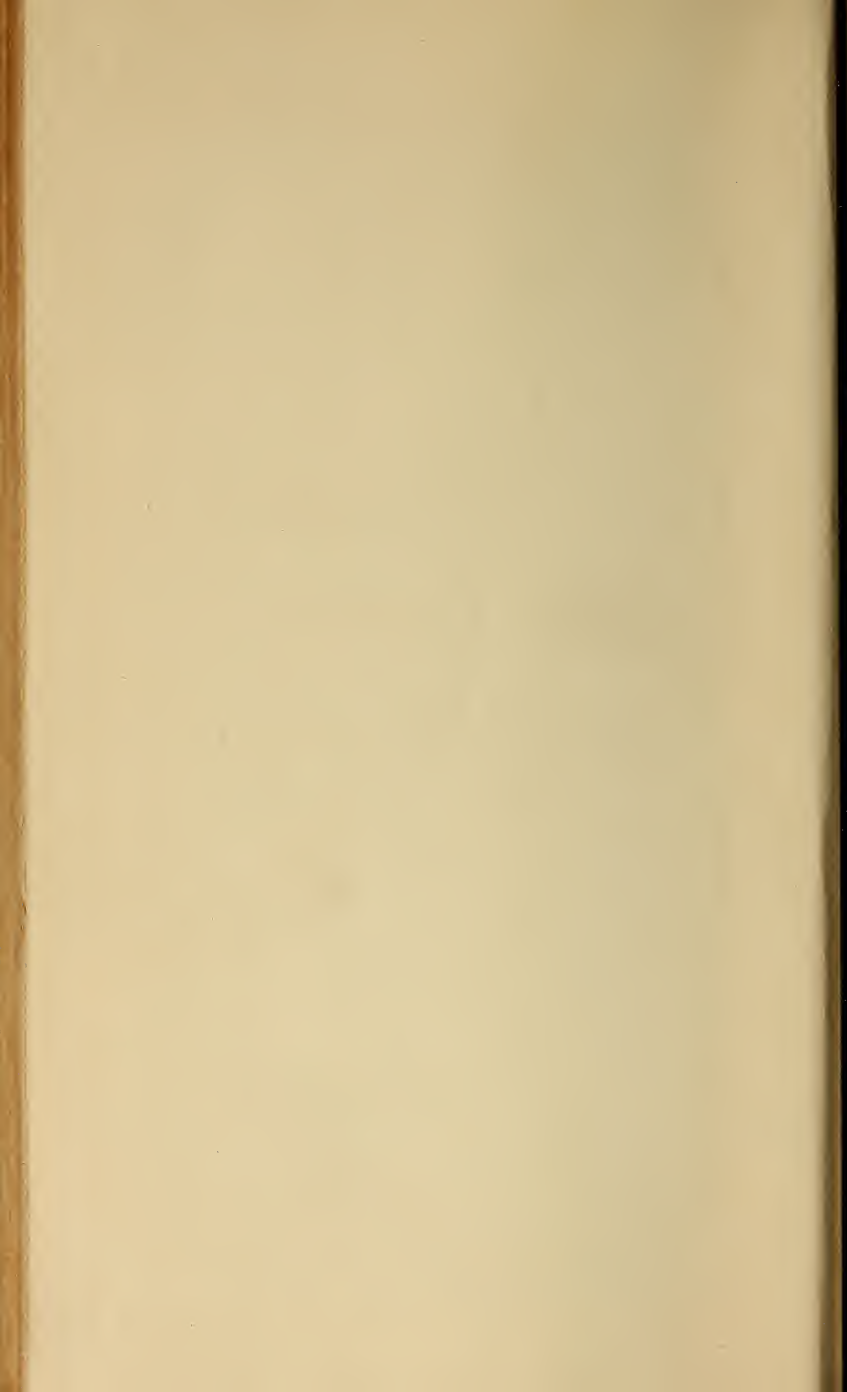


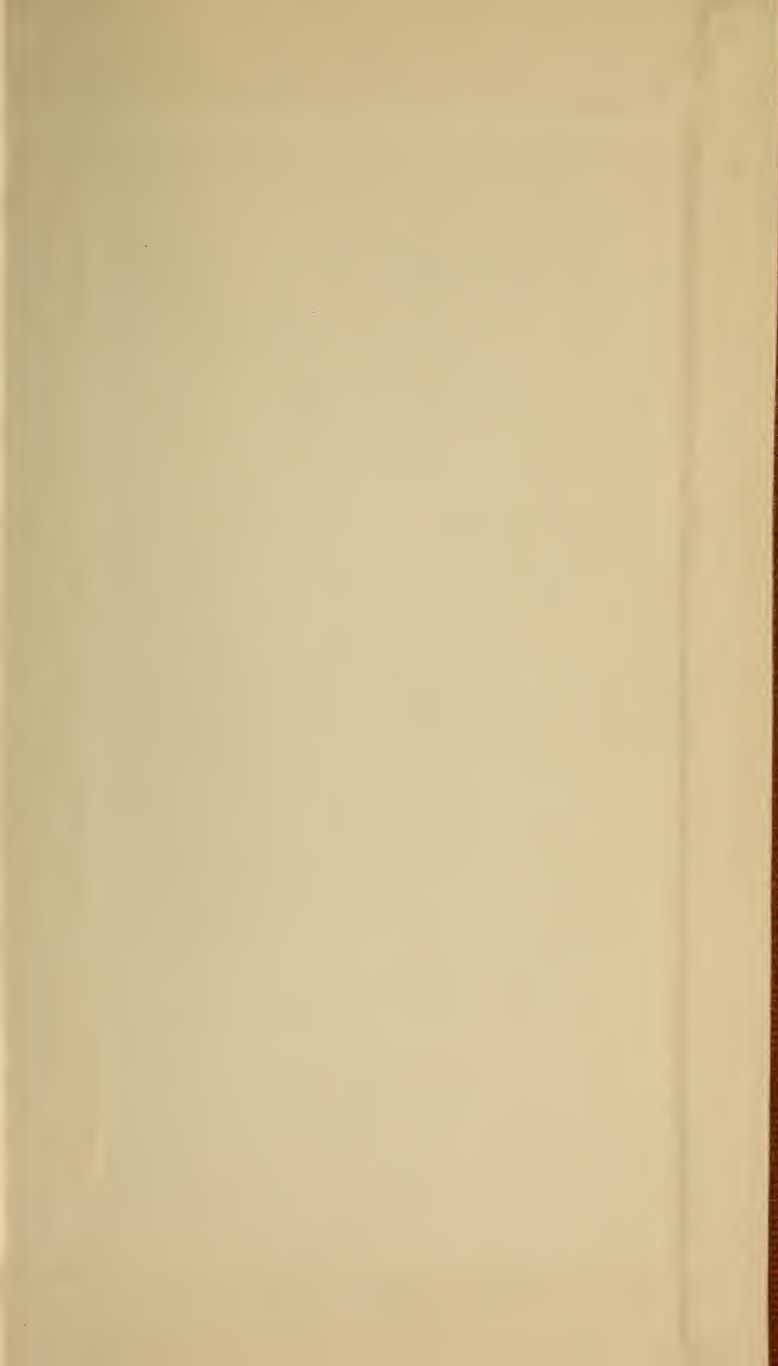




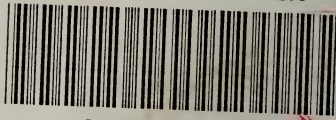








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